NEW TIMES

June 25 – July 1, 1991

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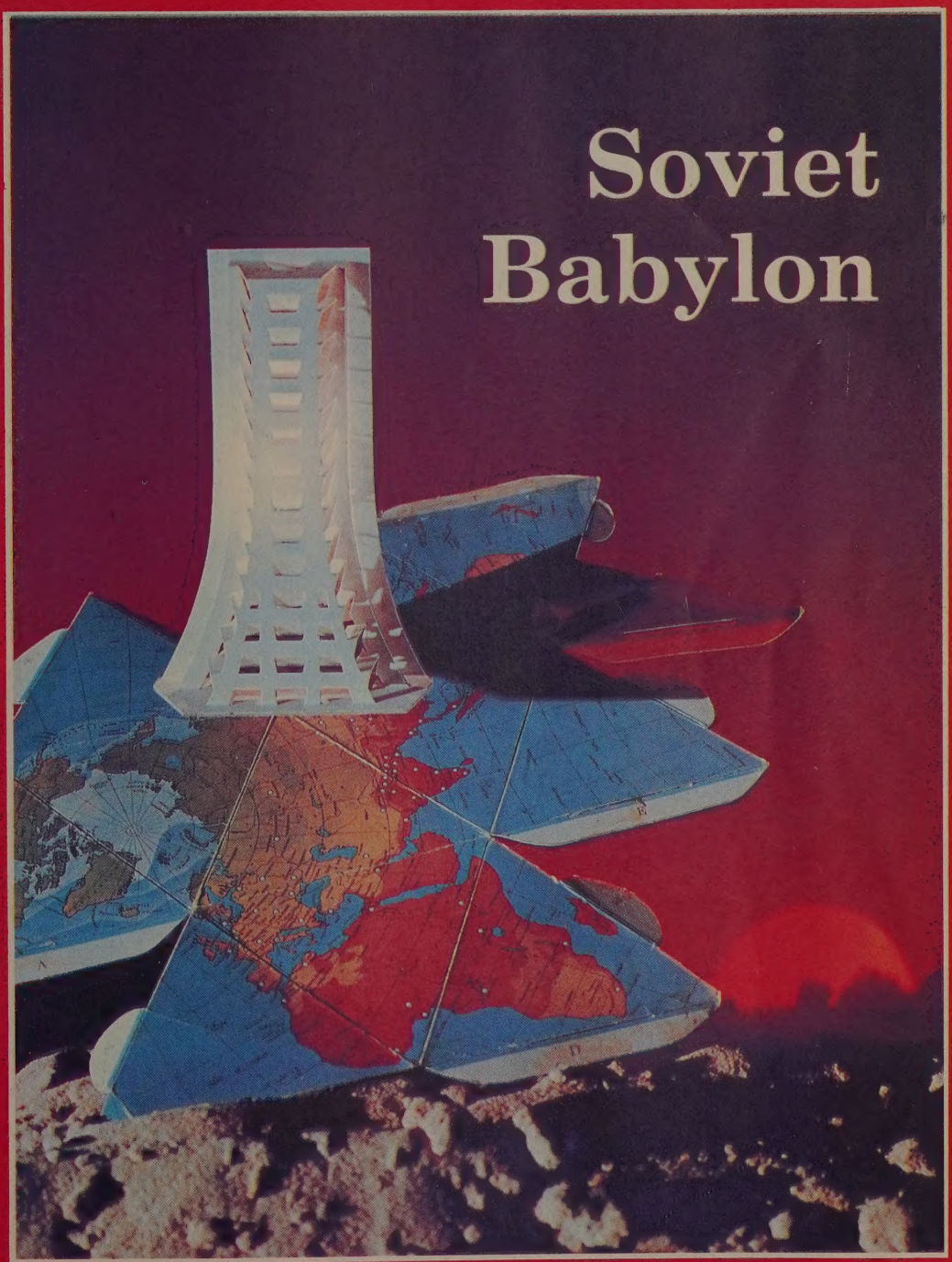

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A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

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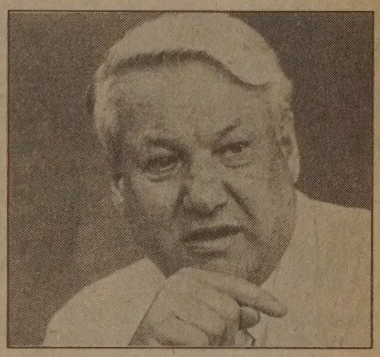

Boris Yeltsin was elected the first President of Russia. June 12 was also a happy day for Gavriil Popov, Anatoly Sobchak and Yuri Afanasyev
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From our mailbag

■ Why do you publish the so-called public opinion poll findings? Who conducts the polls? We, the common people, do not trust your polls. There can be no bad feelings about the Army – the Army has been, and remains, the symbol of the state. You must have polled the good-for-nothings from Moscow's Arbat. These people would trade their mother for a dollar. We are also sick and tired of the attacks against the Communist Party. It's too early to celebrate your victory: bourgeoisie will not get the upper hand. The people do not want to feed those smooth-talking gentlemen from the Democratic Union and other such parties.

You will not publish my letter. Actually, I doubt that you will even bother to read it at all. But remember one thing: this is the way most people feel and we will have our say some day.

Ivanov
Irkutsk Region
USSR

■ *New Times* (No 49/90) published an ad of the company Soyuz-Saturn offering the sale of any amounts of peat to foreign buyers. As a former agronomist, I was shocked by the ad.

Recently the press has reported the arrest on the Soviet border of a train full of humus bound for The Netherlands. That's what I call selling the country down the river. Aren't those businessmen now selling peat? Do they know that that land belongs to the people? Do they know that the drainage of swamps in order to extract peat has already had terrible environmental consequences? By the way, peat is great for potato-growing and scientists know that swamps must be protected. We have tremendous amounts of peat, but ours is a country of tremendous size, too. It is possible to find a substitute for oil, but there is no substitute for soil. Peat could be used for recultivation of our own arable lands. But no, they are exporting it. If they brought peat to our town, people would be quiueing up for hours to buy it...

Boris Kashkov
Krasnodar Territory
USSR

■ It was with interest that I read the article entitled "The German Atlantis" (*NT*, No.32/90). I study the history of the workers' movement, in particular the history of the SED and the CPSU.

The author writes that SED leaders were different from the Moscow Communist Party elite – they sincerely believed that their struggle against fascism gave them the moral right to rule the country. But it must be remembered that at least three of the SED leaders (Mielke, Pieck and Ulbricht) had been "trained" by CPSU bureaucrats in Moscow.

It is an established fact that the Hitler regime killed fewer leaders of the Communist Party of Germany than the Stalin regime. (Don't interprete this as an attempt to whitewash Nazi crimes). Thus, it became evident that the leading cadres of the Communist Party of Germany were selected according to Stalin's views. The historian Hermann Weber writes, referring to reliable sources, that the Stalin regime killed 60 percent of the leading CPG cadres.

It would be a mistake, though, to put the blame for the failure of socialism in East Germany on Stalinism alone – the CPG made a lot of mistakes as well. The utterings of old-time Communists indicate that their attitude towards socialist ideology was virtually religious, and they idealized the Soviet Union. When Brecht presented one of his films in Moscow, Soviet citizens were surprised to know that an unemployed German could afford such a luxury as a wristwatch...

Bert Werner
Nagold, Germany

■ I found Leonid Mlechin's article "Is Moscow On The Wrong Side?" (*NT*, No.7/91) devoted to the Persian Gulf crisis very correct. Until April 1985, the Soviet Union's Middle Eastern policy was made in Baghdad, Damascus, and earlier, Cairo. I think that Saddam Hussein is mostly supported in this country by Stalinists or Neo-Stalinists. Actually, it was Stalinists who concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Saddam's Iraq in 1972. At that time the Soviet regime had a lot in common with the Saddam regime: both were totalitarian, dictatorial, and anti-democratic. Now the Neo-Stalinists are sounding the alarm, saying that "Moscow is on the wrong side!"

Formally, the 1972 Treaty remains in force, and this fact puts the Soviet Union in an ambiguous position and causes the vaccilations that can be seen in the country's Middle Eastern policies.

Arnold Anuchkin-Timofeyev
Moscow, USSR

■ Let me draw your attention to the inaccurate translation of the official name of Poland. The right translation is "The Polish Republic," not "The Republic of Poland."

In the Russian language the adjective is rarely put after the noun, but in the Polish language this is quite normal. The word "Polska" can be both an adjective and a noun in the Polish language, and can mean both Poland and Polish. But in this particular case, the word Polska has an adjectival declension. Thus, the name of the state must be The Polish Republic.

I spoke recently with one of the Polish senators and he fully agreed with me.

Ernst Orlovsky
Leningrad, USSR

■ Thank you for the articles about people deprived by fate. For many of us the newly-enacted Law on Invalids remains a worthless scrap of paper. The law leaves intact the system of VTEKs (medical-

The Arbat good-for-nothings would trade their mother for a dollar

Leave Russian peat alone!

State quotas of invalids...

labour commissions), which is a Gulag for Soviet invalids. The invalids still have no rights, just as before.

When a child, I worked with my mother in bees field. I caught a bad cold and became very sick. I lost my hearing and speech. I walked to my school clutching fences and trees on the curbs. I think you understand what it meant for me to do a course of training in a technical college. They gave me the status of a second degree invalid. I have three children. Every year I was forcefully hospitalized. The treatment I received there and Soviet-made medicines only aggravated my condition. And now the VTEK has once again tried to send me to the hospital, threatening to take away my invalid status. I refused to go to the hospital – I've got three kids to tend to! The VTEK responded by taking away my status and the 16 rubles they paid me as pension. As a deaf and mute person, I cannot find a job according to my specialty. I enrolled for work in a textile mill – but the job is too hard even for a completely healthy person. I often lose consciousness and my children and neighbours bring me home. As for the VTEK, they have fulfilled their quotas for the rehabilitation of invalids. The commission members are all well-fed arrogant people, and they treat us like second-rate people.

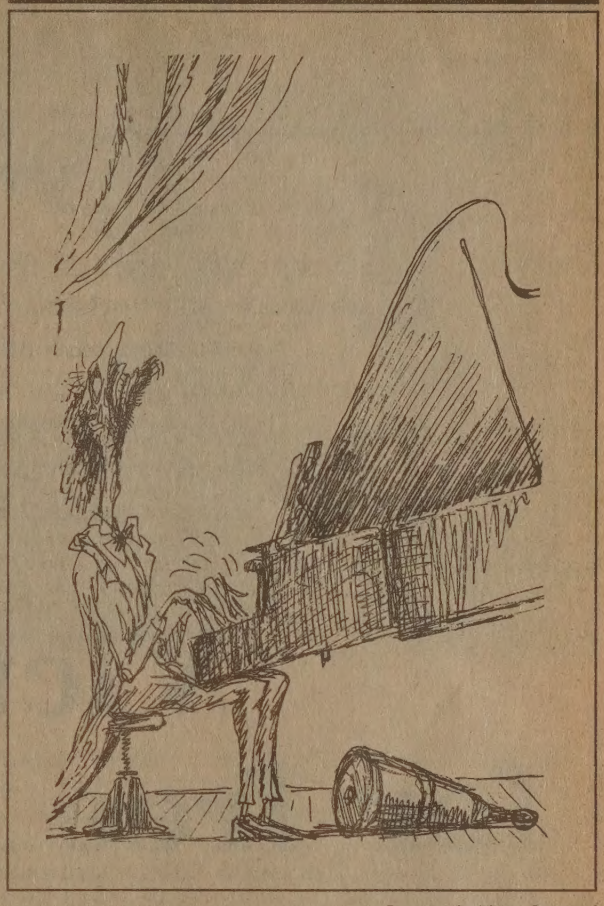
T.Poperechnaya
Khmelnistrky Region, Ukraine

■ Natalya Morozova decided to continue her discussion with *New Times* columnist Tatiana Ivanova in the CPSU daily *Pravda*. And I was naive enough to think that the convincing arguments provided by Ivanova (*NT*, No.5/91) could have influenced her opponent.

It is difficult for me to form a judgement about Tatiana Ivanova's article in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta:* unlike the Communist dailies *Pravda* and *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, the pro-democratic *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* is unavailable in the Vologda Region. That's why I am afraid that after *Pravda's* article some people may really believe that Tatiana Ivanova "assumed the mission of declaring war to one part of the population on behalf of the other." This is a time-tested trick of Communist papers: ascribe to the opponents something they have never said and then condemn it triumphantly. However, Morozova was unable to disprove Tatiana Ivanova's statement that the democrats had never called for violence. *Pravda's* contributor solemly declared that "some democratic publicists had called for a ban on Communist ideology..." Could you please tell us, Ms. Morozova, if it was the Communist ideology that has for years professed violence and intolerance of other ideologies? Even today, the Communist hard-liners have not dropped these ideas. In comparison, I do not remember any prominent democratic leader calling for any bans. It may be a rather simplified view, but the difference between democrats and Communists is that the former allow their opponents to voice their views.

Sergei Korobov
Vologda Region, USSR

THE WAY I SEE IT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

"I just dropped my gun and went away..."

■ The magazine *Liyesma* has published an article about a Soviet paratrooper who deserted from his unit after the Vilnius crackdown. This is what the man briefly narrated.

"It was lunchtime on January 11 when our unit was alerted. A few minutes later we were already in bullet-proof vests and carrying assault rifles. Everything looked like a routine drill, but the only difference was the amount of ammunition they gave us – only in Afghanistan had we had such a generous supply. A second later we got into armoured personnel carriers. Our company was ordered to break into some building. We captured it – the building was the headquarters of the Lithuanian security department. We saw the enemy we had just fought: unarmed people who regarded us with a mixture of horror, contempt and surprise. A trooper who stood close to me smashed the butt of his rifle into someone's face. Some other troopers were hurling explosives into the crowd. If such an explosive goes off in the vicinity of a person, it can tear off a limb... There were many children on the square, too. Actually, the crowd was made up of peaceful people against whom we had been "unleashed."

We went back to the building. The troopers were everywhere-searching for things and looting the place. The CO ordered me to find him a pair of socks, size 28...

Soon after that our company headed back, first to the CO's house. We brought inside everything we had taken: crates with socks, equipment, capts. Correct me if I am wrong, but during the war this was called marauding.

We carried out the mission assigned to us. Then we watched a film shot by the Leningrad TV reporter, Aleksandr Nevzorov. The film was about the events we took part in, but the events had assumed an entirely **different** character. Nevzorov maintained that in the cellar, from which we were busy stealing the hard-to-buy socks, our scouts discovered caches or arms. And the bills for some sweaters knitted on the department's order, which I examined myself, turned into the black lists of Communists...

As we stood on the line-up, the general addressed us: "Some people claim the paratroopers were using arms... But you did not even have combat ammunition with you!" We stood there unable to believe our ears: we knew only too well that they gave us each four full magazines. We did shoot, although we never fired on people. It turned out that the world could perfectly easily be built on lies.

Several days after that I just dropped my gun and went away..."

Ivars Rozenbergs
Yelgava, Latvia

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

Boris Yeltsin was elected the first President of Russia in the first round. The race was short but fascinating, perhaps because everything about it was new. The presidential sprint is over. However, the complications of the election struggle and the details of TV debates are still discussed and are still food for thought. What did the election campaign show? What forces did the election struggle bring into action? What does Yeltsin's victory mean for the future of Russia and the Union?

Victory for free elections

Victor Kiselyov

Let's help Yeltsin dig a well

Boris Yeltsin's victory was not a surprise. Many factors contributed to it – the powerful support of democratic forces which have a real though loose structure in the form of Democratic Russia, a type of party or front which advocates national liberation from communism; the broad popularity of a former Communist who defied officialdom in the struggle for social justice; the image of Yeltsin as an opponent of the powerful totalitarian system, who is capable of destroying it.

The entire might of the dying but still resisting power structure was thrown against Yeltsin. This power structure is not monolithic any longer. A sign of its incipient decay is its inability to put forward a candidate who could be a serious threat to Yeltsin. A number of candidates representing various trends in the Communist Party, from Vadim Bakatin to General Makashov, were proposed. One more candidate, Aman Tuleyev, expressed regional ambitions and the dissatisfaction of medium-level authorities with the central government.

But the main part in the Communist Party's scenario was to be played by Nikolai Ryzhkov, who looked like the symbol of the happy life of pensioners under socialism with a human face. Like other Communist candidates, Ryzhkov, who rode the tide of sympathy, not with the people but of the people with him, tried to show that he was in opposition to Gorbachev. It was the only chance to outrun Yeltsin from the left, taking part of the votes from him. The candidates had been selected with an eye to holding a second round of elections when the anti-Yeltsin voters could unite. I do not think that Bakatin was an exception. He could confirm his leftism and anxiety about the future of Russia by withdrawing his candidature before elections in favour of Yeltsin. He did not use this opportunity. It was a political game, not leftism.

Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the most violent and conceited opponent of

Boris Yeltsin's win spells victory for Gorbachev

Yeltsin, can also be considered a shadow candidate of the Communist Party. He was enthusiastic about his debut in the political scene.. He threatened that everything still lay ahead. With the help of people like Zhirinovsky, the "former" total rulers of the country are going to retain their diminishing power over society, putting emphasis on national awakening. The national idea is almost the only slogan which can unite people during a crisis, helping them to support one another. Will the people of Russia follow adventurers or those who no longer want to counterpose the national fate to that of mankind? The people of Russia displayed their political awareness in the recent elections. The election was won by Yeltsin, a political pragmatist who seems to have taken up the reform initiative of Gorbachev while the latter got stuck on the communist positions.

Boris Yeltsin has a good team and enjoys the broad support of democratic forces. However, the main difficulties of the struggle for freedom and a decent life for the people lie ahead. It is sufficient to recall the problems of relations not only with the President of the USSR but also with the Russian Parliament, which apparently has to be dissolved. New relations will also appear with the people of Russia whose hopes have to be fulfilled. Antoine Saint-Exupery said that to liberate man in the desert means to make him thirsty and then to show him the way to a well. Yeltsin has to dig a well, for otherwise the thirsty people will have to make do with the turbid brew served by people like Zhirinovsky and Nevzorov. Drinking this brew will inevitably lead the people to national folly. Only we the voters of Russia can help Yeltsin, and by helping him we help ourselves.

Farewell to the spectre of communism

Lilia Shevtsova

Most people voted for Yeltsin and against the candidates backed by the communist structures. This is evidently one of the basic conclusions of the past elections. A new reality has appeared. It can be characterized as parting with the spectre of communism.

At the same time the election revealed the presence of a very dangerous phenomenon which I would call the "Tyminski syndrome." It was a repetition of what happened in Poland. At first there were two popular leaders in the political scene of that country, Walesa and Mazowiecki. Suddenly a dark horse, Tyminski, appeared and hundreds of thousands of Poles voted for him. What does the "Tyminski syndrome" indicate? It shows that there are people who lost faith in both the right and the left. They can provide a social base for a demagogue who has no programme but promises everything in the world, a populist with national-fascist leanings.

It would be dangerous to exaggerate the practical political significance of the recent elections and presidential power in Russia. It is merely a change of the signboard, chairman for president, because practically nothing has changed. All the main re-

sources of power – material, technical, and political (the emission of money, 80 percent of the Russian enterprises under central government control, the currency, international ties, the army, and the KGB) – remain in the hands of the central government. The people set greater hopes on the newly elected president, who bears a higher responsibility with the same means of power. If Yeltsin proves unable to fulfil at least part of his promises the people will turn away from him late in 1991 or early in 1992, as happened to some leaders in East European countries. The former idols became targets of scathing criticism.

What tasks face Yeltsin? The number one task on which the fate of the Russian Federation, Russian statehood, and his personal fate depend is to bring about an early redistribution of functions between the central government and republics, the central government and Russia. This problem has not been solved yet in spite of the optimistic statements of Gorbachev and the leaders of other republics. A new formula for the central government has not been found yet, and the argument continues.

Another important task for Yeltsin is the signing of a federal treaty with the republics of Russia. The situation remains explosive here.

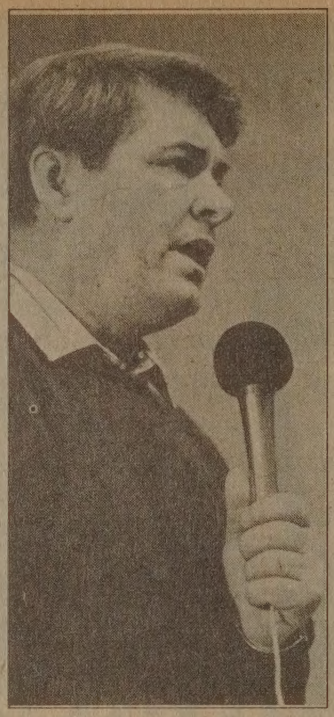
A third problem is the building of horizontal and vertical political ties. The presidency is so far only a roof. Under it is only emptiness. There is no mechanism of implementing decisions. The system of Soviets does not work and it cannot work, for it is not fit for activity in conditions of economic reform.

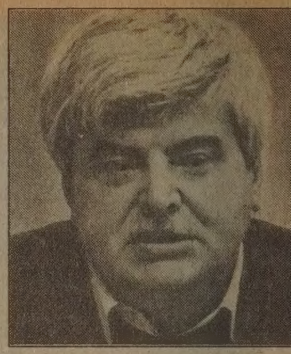
These are the three problems. The most important of them is a new formula for the central government. A new round of confrontation between the central government and Russia is possible in the process of solving this problem. The introduction of the presidency and the election of Yeltsin to this post are likely to precipitate the denouement. Perhaps it will be for the better, for it is necessary to overcome the hopeless situation so disastrous for society.

A recent action taken by the numerous Soyuz faction in the Union parliament indicates that a confrontation is possible. The faction, consisting of advocates of a strong unitary state, called for a revision of the 9+1 agreement, declaring it unconstitutional, and also for a change in the procedure of drafting and signing the Union treaty.

The forces whose fate hangs by a thread and who are destined to leave the political scene will possibly launch their last attack. It is likely to happen during the ratification of the Union treaty or at the next congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. It can naturally be asked how constitutional is a congress at which six republics will be absent. Does it have the right to decide the fate of the Union?

The main participants in the play in the Russian political scene seem to understand that a situation has arisen when no force is able to retain power by itself. It is very easy to seize power, as happened in 1917. But what to do next? There's the rub. The possibilities of a compromise between republics and between various political forces in Russia, at least between moderate ones, have not yet been exhausted.





Gavriil Popov and Anatoly Sobchak have been elected mayors of Moscow and Leningrad, respectively. In the elections to People's Deputies of Russia Yuri Afanasyev won a seat by a solid margin in the contest with Ivan Antonovich, an ideologist of the Russian Communist Party

Two centres – two Russias?

Alexander Tsipko

The elections have confirmed the conviction at which I arrived earlier and which was strengthened during the famous March 28 demonstration in Moscow devoted to the opening of the 4th Congress of People's Deputies of Russia. This conviction is that in this country people will follow any leader who opposes the existing regime and the Communist Party. The elections have shown that the Gorbachev team's faith in the people's devotion to the socialist choice and loyalty to that choice was illusory. A public opinion poll in Leningrad revealed that most inhabitants of the city wanted to see the city renamed St. Petersburg. The poll findings confirmed that the spirit of rejection of communism and all things communist is as strong in this country as in Eastern Europe.

The elections have shown that at the beginning of the perestroika drive the Soviet leadership made the fatal mistake of combining the task of saving the nation with the task of saving socialism. The at best, ill-considered concept of the socialist choice set most people against Gorbachev and his reforms. People did not choose between programmes and the ideas incorporated in them. Unfortunately, most Soviets are so backward politically that democracy in this country is often understood as the choice of the most attractive personality.

I cannot agree with the new demagogues who call the presidential elections "the first free elections in Russia." First, the Russian Federation is not Russia and playing with the concept of Russia may be dangerous. One can say that the old Russia is dead and a new Russia is emerging, but in this case one has to explain exactly what one means by "Russia" and what one's attitude is towards the historical entity of the Russian Federation. Second, the statement about "the first free elections" is tactless, because it ignores the year 1917 and the elections

to the Constituent Assembly. It scares me that we are moving towards democracy accompanied by political nihilism and the refusal to acknowledge the historical roots of the process.

One more noteworthy aspect of the elections: although all candidates represented political parties and movements they made it a point to deny any political affiliations. Why was Ryzhkov stressing that he was supported by the Communist Party of Russia but did not represent it? Why did Bakatin deny any dependence on the CPSU? Why did Yeltsin say that he represented nobody but himself, also admitting that he shared the views of the pro-democracy movement Demokraticheskaya Rossiya? This phenomenon suggests that a real multiparty system will hardly be formed in this country in the near future. So far the practical forms of democracy remain very primitive here: personal struggles, capitalizing on the needs and hidden instincts of the population. Do we possess enough political knowledge, and moral and spiritual fortitude to finally arrive at truly democratic multiparty elections? So far, some segments of the population are driven by fear of losing what they have gained and others are driven by hatred of the past.

With the affirmation of presidency in Russia there appears the new threat of increasing rivalry between the two centres: the old federal centre and the new centre that has appeared as a result of Russia's sovereignty. It is evident that nothing will change for the better in the country as long as this conflict continues. Different variants of development are possible in this respect. The ideologues of Demokraticheskaya Rossiya hope that Yeltsin's election as president of Russia will make him a full-fledged rival of the central power, thus jeopardizing Gorbachev's position and securing speedier reforms. Another variant seems more realistic in light of the Nine Plus One agreement: Yeltsin is automatically lowered to the republic level of leadership like Nazarbayev, Kravchuk, and the rest. This is good for the centre, but the process of democratization in the country may be slowed down. After all, Yeltsin was the force that kept pushing the centre towards additional reform.

Yeltsin's was a brilliant election campaign. His election speech on Russian TV was modest and dignified and showed no sign of hysterical anti-communism. Yeltsin's speech proved that he was a person of great integrity who had evolved with the epoch and understood it.

Yeltsin was destined to win, because in voting for him the people voted against Gorbachev. This is the logic of the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. Anyone who dares to start changes assumes tremendous responsibility, bringing himself under attack from both the right and the left. ■

Sequel to the victory and the losses

The democratic election victory shows that Yeltsin and the democrats are really trusted by the people

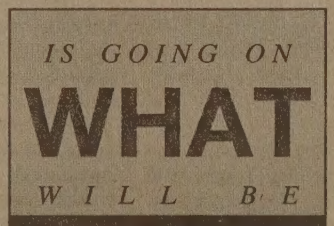
WHAT'S GOING ON? We are recovering from the shock – it's the post-election syndrome. All speculation about what will happen to us has stopped abruptly. What will be will be, and we have said what we had to say. We are like a mentally retarded child – we began talking too late (at the beginning of glasnost some of us were already 50 and 60) and began feeling even later. These have been the first elections about which we were really excited because we felt that our future depended on the elections' results.

Social psychology uses the term Ego-image – one's image of oneself – to refer to the foundation of personal dignity. The elections have improved our ego-image. We have become better and this is the main result of it all.

WHAT'S GOING ON? WHO WON? The people? Hardly had the votes been counted, when voices started asserting that so many millions voted against the winner and so many millions did not show up at the polling stations at all – these are naturally regarded as Yeltsin's opponents. Yes, they say, Yeltsin's victory was a convincing one, but we are worried that...

The well-known formulas of political hypocrisy: "We are worried...," "We can't but be worried...," "People are asking us...," "We are getting letters..." Always the right letters at the right time.

Thus, only 70 percent of the voters showed up at the polls and less than 60 percent voted for Yeltsin. Where are the people? Where is the popular will? Where is popular unity? "We can't but feel worried..."



Unity... It's only now that we are starting to understand why slogans like "The People and the Party are One," "Moral and Political Unity of the People," "the Unbreakable Alliance of Communists and Non-Party People" had been hammered into our brains so stubbornly. Usually, the attendance was 99.9 percent (we do not know now whether this was a real or a false percentage actually). Unity was viewed as the supreme value – not democracy or human rights or the benefit of man, but unity. Anyone who opposed this supreme value was to be punished for undermining unity.

The same purpose was served by the demands for political activism. At the time when political cynicism and apathy were blossoming, a broad campaign was launched in this country to promote what was known as an "active social stance." Soviet scholars used to shorten the phrase into the obscene abbreviation ASS, but nevertheless articles on ASS were written, conferences were held, and careers were made. Are we going to accuse those who did not come to vote of having no ASS? Or of being politically passive? Even today millions of personal references written in this country contain the magic phrase "politically educated," which in effect means "fooled to the sufficient degree." But are there any really "politically educated people" in this country now? What is meant by "political education"? Perhaps those who did not come to vote because they felt too confused to make the right choice were afraid their excessive political zeal could be harmful. If so, they may be the best "politically educated" people.

The Soviet press is always attacking bourgeois democracies for low electoral activity. This low activity, however, is the sign of political stability in a society which is not threatened by anything. The newspaper *Demokraticheskaya Rossiya* wrote that if 90–95 percent of the

electorate vote on election day, this is a very bad sign.

Democracy may be simply incompatible with unity of the electorate.

WHAT'S GOING ON? WHO LOST? The Party has lost, the Communist Party of Russia which climbed out of the trenches this January and started a vociferous offensive. All candidates except Yeltsin were either nominees of or supported by the RCP. The total number of votes they won was negligible. This country's leading party has suffered an utter defeat in the very first really free election. In any democratic country such a defeat would be ruinous for a party and that party would need lots of time to recover from the blow. The Communist Party will recover, doubtless. Nothing can ruin it. The Communist Party has made it a point to ignore the popular opinion and will. It is absolutely indifferent to how the people feel towards it. It lives in a special atmosphere of its own, in an atmosphere where the concept of "public opinion" is non-existent.

Actually, the Party was not really fighting for victory: It was busy fighting Yeltsin. This is something the Party is used to doing. Using Vladimir Lenin's words, one can say that the Communist Party today "is terribly distant from the people," putting the stress on the word "terribly" – because the Party's unwillingness to heed the interests of the people is a major factor of all today's troubles and hardships in the country and in the Party itself. What can the Party count on? Where are its human resources? Party orators made lengthy speeches about the president's right to combine the office of the CPSU General Secretary with the presidency, referring to the practice of bourgeois countries where leaders of ruling parties become leaders of nations. This would seem to be an hour of triumph for Ivan Polozkov, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Russia – he was the natural candidate for presidency. However, it turned out that Polozkov's popularity was so low that the party would surely have lost if it nominated Polozkov. Polozkov is great when he leads the party claiming to uphold the interests of the working people, but when it comes to leading the working people themselves he cuts a ridiculous figure. The only way out was to look for a different candidate. Nikolai Ryzhkov, the former Prime Minister, became the least happy choice. Ryzhkov's announcement that he would run for presidency could ruin one's faith in the human race: people were asking directly whether Ryzkov knew anything about shame. The whole nation had been demanding that Ryzhkov step down as Prime Minister, and here he is, back again. This shows unprecedented contempt for popular feeling. The voters responded accordingly, giving Ryzhkov an obscenely small number of votes.

The Comunist Party's position in the country is becoming increasingly ambiguous. The Party must become a parliamentary party struggling for power in a democratic manner. But the Party does not want to do this, the Party still wants to claim special status it enjoyed during the time of the proletarian dictatorship. Today, however, a return to dictatorship is not possible: dictatorship has no chance, and the proletariat is different now. After all, Yeltsin's most impressive victories were won in large industrial centres with vast populations of industrial workers. The Comunist candidate was more successful in rural areas. Perhaps the Communist Party of today is the party of peasants? The Kolkhoz Communist Party?

Following such devastating defeats political parties usually review their programmes and elect new leaders. If something like this happens in the RCP, it will be a positive result. However, there are few chances that this will happen. More likely, the Party will manage to find some excuses, will start counting the percentage of votes collected by other candidates (forgetting about its own sorry winnings), then supply some theory to enable it to grasp power even more tightly.

WHAT'S GOING ON? WHO WON? The winner is Zhirinovsky. The press is already discussing the Zhirinovsky effect. People have proved to be susceptible to super-resolute, albeit groundless ideas. Surprisingly, no one objected to Zhirinovsky, everybody simply grinned as he spoked at length about how he would restore order in the country and the world – "I will solve the Karabakh problem in a week's time!" He also spoke of how he would abolish one of the two Moscow-based presidencies. When a candidate like Zhirinovsky appeared in France, the whole nation took to the streets to protest. In this country everything was so nice and pluralistic...

We have been lucky with Zhirinovsky, in a sense. We got off lightly. Had Zhirinovsky been less of a buffoon, had he not made ridiculous statements, such as "I will issue a decree on observing all decrees," he might have won more votes. Zhirinovsky's votes are votes of despair, bitterness, and condemnation. There is no guarantee, though, that a new Zhirinovsky, or the cleverer old one, will not appear in the next election. If he does, then what?

The most threatening feature of the Zhirinovsky phenomenon is not Zhirinovsky himself or his electorate, but the fact that he was supported by the Communist faction in parliament. The Party once again demonstrated that it was indifferent to the future of this country, despite all patriotic rhetoric. The Party proved ready to hand over Russia to anyone opposing Yeltsin. A new alliance between Communists and non-Party people has been born – the monstrous bloc of Polozkov and Zhirinovsky!

WHAT'S GOING ON? WHO LOST? The loser was the Central Television. It tried hard, but it was stupid and all its efforts were in vain.

When Hitler made speeches over the radio, people could listen to him for hours. Modern psychologists believe, however, that Hitler never would have been elected Reichskanzler had there existed television at that time – Hitler was not telegenic. The Americans first felt the shock of televized elections in the early fifties. The Soviet Union felt the same forty years after, in 1991: we did have TV sets, but we did not have real elections.

The Central Television tried to influence the voters against Yeltsin in every possible way. It broadcast information about some opinion poll that indicated the growing popularity of Ryzhkov and the declining popularity of Yeltsin. Announcers took their time to enumerate Yeltsin's negative features, and then spent even more lauding Ryzhkov. If Ryzhkov were so good, and Yeltsin were so bad, why were the people so much in favour of the latter? Common sense seemed to have abandoned Central Television authors. This was especially visible during the Who Is Who? programme hosted by Fesunenko and starring Yeltsin: almost the whole programme was devoted to finding small compromising facts about Yeltsin. The viewers were beside themselves with indignation.

One may say that it is too late to be speaking about the elections. There is one more lesson of the elections, however: your TV set is becoming a cynical and cold-blooded enemy. Some time later disposable TV sets will have to be invented – viewers will smash them after every TV lie. And the fact that Yeltsin and the democrats have made it, shows that they are really supported by the people.

Simon Soloveichik

Praying to Allah in Freedom Square

Tatarstan: official elections of the president of Tatarstan and unofficial elections of the president of Russia

Gennady Ariyevich

On June 12 the polling station located in Kazan's School No.4 was eagerly awaiting the arrival of the one and only presidential candidate, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan, Mintimer Shaimiyev. The chairman of the local election committee was nervously adjusting a presidential campaign poster which was to be removed from the station a day before the election. "Forgive me, I did not know that," he would say later. Schoolchildren were scattered throughout the place. The main commotion and confusion, however, was created by reporters and camera crews...

The future president strode in accompanied by his wife and offered a broad smile to the cameras. He was clad in a black suit while his wife wore white. As he approached the election committee table he picked two ballots (one with his own name and the other with the names of Russia's six presidential candidates) and turned to the reporters who followed his every step: "See, I'm taking two ballots. I must. After all, the talks have not yet been concluded and I must know with whom I will have to negotiate..." "Did you take two ballots, too?" journalists asked the candidate's wife. "Oh, no – one president is quite enough for me," answered the future First Lady of Tatarstan.

Muslims praying in Freedom Square... *Photo by Oleg Klimov*

A double-headed ram

The same, almost word-for-word, answer was provided by two elderly Tatar women the day before when they came to the central square outside the Kazan Drama Theatre to attend an election meeting. "Can there be a double-headed ram?" one of them remarked in response to my question about why they were not going to take part in the elections for the president of Russia.

The meeting organized by the Sovereignty committee was in fact an anti-election meeting. The main motives of it were as follows: the calls to vote for the president of Russia were a violation of the rights and sovereignty of the republic; participation in Russian elections was an act of treason; denial of Tatarstan's right to be a co-founder of the new USSR would result in the republic's aloofness with all the ensuing consequences. "We have never been a part of Russia and we will never be," said one speaker.

On May 13 the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan decided to hold elections for the Russian president in the territory of Tatarstan because there were no legal grounds for the denial. The decision touched off a wave of indignation on the part of such organizations as the Tatar Public Centre, the National Independence Party Ittifak, and the youth alliance Azatlyk. In their opinion, the parliamentary decision violated the Declaration of Sovereignty of Tatarstan of September 30, 1990, because it indirectly recognized the Russian Republic's sovereignty over Tatarstan. Meetings were held in Kazan, Naberezhnye Chelny and Almetyevsk. A specially large and turbulent meeting took place on May 20 in Freedom Square outside the republican parliament building. The square was also the site of a two-week hunger strike staged by the spiritual leader of Ittifak, Fauziya Bairamova. Old Muslim women gathered in the square to pray...

On May 27 the parliament reviewed its decision and decreed that Tatarstan would not officially participate in the elections for the president of Russia, but those willing to vote in the Russian elections would not be prevented from doing so. In practice it looked like this: at polling stations people were given one ballot with the name of Shaimiyev on it. You could also ask for a Russian ballot, but in this case your name was added to a special list. Some people felt uneasy about their names being mentioned on what some called "black lists."

I visited several polling stations and could see that voting proceeded in a calm and orderly manner. However, on election day people constantly called the editors of the popular evening daily *Vechernyaya Kazan* to complain that they were afraid to go vote or that Russian ballots were given to them unwillingly or with alarming reservations.

To my surprise, the conversation at the Tatar Public Centre also began with complaints:

I was told that election committee members often forced Russian ballots on the uninformed electorate.

The right thing to do

"Will you vote for Shaimiyev?" I asked passers-by. "By all means," was the typical answer. "Why? Do you trust him? Do you know him well?" "That's just the right thing to do," many replied.

...I witnessed one interesting episode. A woman was addressing several people who gathered under the red-and-green flag of sovereign Tatarstan: "Why are you stirring up trouble? Why are you dividing people? We must live as we did: peacefully and as true friends." "You want to see us as unwashed slaves," was the answer. "I am speaking with you in Russian. And do you speak Tatarian? No? That's it. Your son-in-law is a Tatar? And you are quite content with this? Well, I'll never believe you really like your son-in-law. Mixed marriages are absurd. Poor children..."

Activists of the Tatar Public Centre, headed by the president of the Centre's all-Union leadership Marat Mulyukov and head of the Tatarstan branch Rishat Safin, gathered at a huge table at the Centre's Kazan headquarters.

"We are not looking for enemies among Russians," they said with determination. "The struggle is vertical-bound, against the bureuacrats guilty of having brought our people to the verge of extinction. Only seven percent of all Tatars receive instruction in their native tongue. After the war ancient Tatar books written in Arabic were burned, the illiterate Tatars who spoke Arabic were repressed, schools were closed down. Today it is easier to build a new plant than to open a Tatar school.

"We are also very much opposed to the so-called democrats who do not recognize the sovereignty of Tatarstan. They have betrayed us. The Nine-Plus-One accord on the signing of the new Union Treaty isolated Tatarstan from the signing even though representatives of former autonomous republics took an active part in drafting the treaty. They want to decide our fate for us. The slogan of One and Indivisible Russia is an imperial one based on false teaching about the merging of national cultures and languages.

"Shaimiyev is not our candidate, we even planned to boycott him, but later we concluded that there was no better candidate and Tatarstan needed a president of its own to serve as the guarantee of sovereignty..."

Here is one quotation from the newspaper *Suverenitet* (Sovereignty) published by the Sovereignty committee: "What about the genocide of Tatars on the part of the Russians who destroyed the Tatars and dispersed them all over the world by the sword, the fire, and the cross? What about the state policy of forced Russification of Tatars, forced baptisms, massive resettlement of Russians to our historical motherland? What about Stalin? That bloody dictator eliminated in the NKVD dungeons the leaders of the national liberation movements of Tatars and other eastern nations. He reshaped the territory of Tatarstan, giving vast areas to Bashkiria, the Orenburg, Samara, and Ulyanovsk regions... The democrats of Russia are perfectly aware of all these crimes, but they prefer to keep silent..."

I heard roughly the same thing from members of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan – Rustam Khafizov, Renat Kharisov, and Alexei Kolesnik. Tatarstan's special stand, they said, is rooted in the republic's economy and history. Before the 1917 revolution a special decree of the Czar prohibited Tatars from working as blacksmiths so that they could not make weapons. But before the revolution there were 35 magazines in Tatarian, and now there are only seven. Before the revolution 320 books were published in Tatarian each year and today the number is only 100. It is impossible to receive a university education in Tatarian. The ultimate insult to the nation and the national culture was the 1929 change from millennium-old Arabic script to Latin. In 1940 the Latin script was abolished, too, and replaced with Cyrillics. The nation's historical traditions were uprooted.

80 percent of the industrial enterprises in Tataria are under the central government, and 18 percent are controlled by the Russian Republic. The Russian federal budget annually devours over one billion rubles from the budget of Tatarstan, with less than 50 percent of the funds coming back, MPs said. All the natural resources – rich deposits of oil and gas – do not actually belong to Tatarstan. All the republic gets from those resources is pollution. Fertile soils are flooded on orders from Moscow. New industrial zones are set up arbitrarily absorbing people who would otherwise be engaged in agriculture.

The republic's construction capacities were focused on the mammoth "construction projects of communism" – Naberezhnye Chelny, Nizhnekamsk, Yelabuga. As a result Kazan and other cities are surrounded by slums. New housing developments are not much better than the slums – while industrial enterprises are mushrooming, people live huddled in dormitories. In addition, there are not enough schools and culture is decaying. We want to be masters of our own resources, the MPs said. We want to develop relations with Russia on the basis of an equal treaty.

A comrpomise with no concessions?

"We will have to explain the essence of sovereignty and presidency to the people," said President Mintimer Shaimiyev. "We want to strengthen the statehood of Tatarstan and the whole vertical system of executive power in the republic for the benefit of all people living here. We want to achieve equal rights with the Union republics, and we do not want to lose the fantastic opportunities opening before us in accordance with the new Union Treaty. One must also take into account the desire for national rebirth deeply rooted in our people. This is a natural process, a lengthy and gradual one. It can not be forced, and we must make sure it is not exploited for egoistic purposes by ambitious politicians. I am extremely alarmed by the fact that our sovereignty becomes tinted with nationalism. This is very, very dangerous. That is why I do reject and condemn the nationalist goals of Ittifak and its leaders' methods, the methods that may result in an aggravation of interethnic relations in the republic..."

"Why didn't you consult the people when you decided that Tatarstan needed sovereignty and presidency?"

"In a multinational republic like Tatarstan any referendum would leave some segments of the population dissatisfied. Besides, the enhancement of our statehood has long been our objective."

The employees of the Zelenodolsk Design Bureau – 381 signatories – seem to disagree. They issued an open letter to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tataria which said, in particular, that "the parliament was promoting deeper divisions in the Republic. The parliament has never consulted the people. By a show of will the parliament isolates Tatarstan from Russia and affirms the primacy of its own power."

Whichever political camp my interlocutors belonged to, none of them showed any doubt as to the correctness of their ideas. They were all for concord and reconciliation, but were not prepared to make any concessions...

In other republics, nationalist-minded popular fronts attack the Communist party and state structures, in Tatarstan the situation is different: the nationalists support the current leadership – they do not change horses in the midstream – in order to enhance sovereignty, while the Communists seek the support of the nationalist movement in order to stay in power, although at the expense of their ideology. Such an alliance can hardly be lasting.

The Kremlin-Russia-Tatarstan triangle has formed a complicated knot of political interests, dependencies, influences, and ambitions. Many of the steps taken by the leadership of Tatarstan can be deciphered only in this system of coordinates.

KAZAN – MOSCOW

Polished Boots and Long Tongue

A midsummer night's dream inspired by a classic

A stuffy and thick night was falling upon the capital. Thunderstorms had raged for days on end, and the overcast sky promised more. Instead of the much-coveted cool, the wide-open windows let in TV voices from the neighbours'.

Most TV sets were on for weeks before, during and after the elections, and the atmosphere was becoming increasingly tense... Since early in the morning, one could feel electricity accumulating.

The TV voices were a nuisance, but shutting them off by closing the windows would mean suffocating with the heat. Oblivion was to be found only on bookshelves, among faded and often threadbare covers, in good old prose with its unhurried narration, long dialogues, detailed descriptions of the characters – in a word, in old books which carry you far, far away from our modern life. So I picked up a heavy leather-bound volume and opened it...

From the very beginning, the book put me in a nervous mood bordering on irritation, made worse by that horrible Cipolla – a concentration and a fatal embodiment of the evil sentiments of the place the scene of the novel was set in.

What I was reading did not calm me down – rather to the contrary. I must have made an unfortunate choice. We've got more than our share of spite and irritation as it is. The voices coming in through the open windows did not recede – if anything, they drew closer. They filled the room, bounced off the walls, felt quite at home. Those were entirely new, previously unknown, voices which stirred up my curiosity. They merged together into a powerful chorus.

The voices behaved in an extremely intrusive way. At first I couldn't see why those people boasted of their merits, tried to impress foreigners by their bearing and manners, showed off their hypertrophied sense of honour. What was the big idea? Finally, I saw the light: that was politics, the whole thing centered on the national idea. Resentments were voiced now and again, inflated egos clashed, fundamental principles were upheld; high-falutin words about the greatness and dignity of the nation were uttered.

Presently I learned to distinguish the more intrusive voices. One of them belonged to a man whom I privately nicknamed Polished Boots. His gruff voice kept distracting me from my book. Russia, wake up! Patriots, where are you? Russia will be saved not by beauty, but by the union of the patriotic forces! Why have the cosmopolites been given so much freedom? The press has no business criticizing generals! Does the so-called press know how much these generals cost the nation? We shall not allow Russia to be sold out to foreign capitalists! Who has adopted the laws, and signed the treaties, legalizing the plunder of Russia? This is the work of cosmopolites, parasites, and crooks of every description! A soldier speaks his mind! Who dares put a soldier's words in question? Save the nation's morality from destruction – it's an order! What does the economic programme have to do with that? Pornography, sensuality, the yellow press – these are the roots of all evil which are an obstacle to economic progress! The use of words like "sex" and "sexology" should be banned in Russia! The corrupt cosmopolites and the porno-trafficking democrats ought to be flogged in public, right in Red Square!

The pronouncements of the Polished Boots are greeted by a chorus of approval.

I stopped up my ears and tried to concentrate on my reading, to forget all about the intrusive voices. Unlike myself, the characters in the novel spend their summer not in a stuffy city but at the seaside where Cipolla, a snake-charmer and a magician, arrives one day...

Suddenly, another voice – young but metallic – burst into the room.

Listen to the youngest, the best educated, the most intelligent, and the most vigorous man whom all of you need, the voice said. You have to support me because this is inevitable. I need time and money. You give me the time, and I shall find the money. You'll all get rich thanks to me. All you have to understand is that I am your choice and that you have to follow my instructions. And then you may rest assured that vodka will become cheap again.

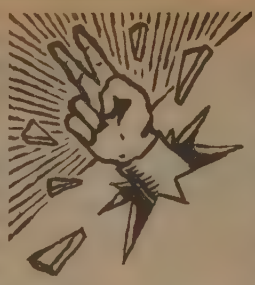
Drawing by Igor Shein

I have nicknamed this speaker the Long Tongue. He paused for a second to take a breath, and I went back to my book. Already I knew that I had picked up a wrong volume. The story I was reading could not restore my peace of mind. Now I wondered what would happen next. I even got the impression that the developments in my book and on TV screens proceeded in parallel. Could a topical political programme have been replaced by a screen version of the novel?

The audience liked Cipolla's virile self-assurance and his whip. The hall was a concentrated expression of the nervous anticipation with which our whole life is charged. Now let me explain to you that Cipolla was the greatest hypnotizer of all I had ever seen. His programme consisted of experiments intended to depersonalize the audience and to submit it to his will. Unaware of this, the spectators watched him with amused attention, often punctuating his performance with bursts of laughter and applause. They were under the spell of this stern, strong-willed individual who brandished his big whip.

...I am an ordinary man, just like you. I live in the same tiny flat, I stand in queues, and my salary barely lasts me till the next pay-day. I am an ordinary man who can stand up for another ordinary man. I need you as badly as you need me. I always consult warrant officers. These are the best men. They are the best trained for running the state. All those academicians who keep going abroad to receive their instructions from the CIA – can Russia be entrusted to them? Just look at their names. Can a patriot bear a name like that? A patriot ought to take precedence over a scientist. My deputy, he is a patriotic scientist. He has thought up a wonderful programme which is supported by warrant officers and by the alliance of patriotic forces, but which is hushed up by the press and by the academicians. If you give him a chance to implement this programme, it will send your salaries, pensions, college grants, alimonies, and social benefits up overnight. Each of you will go into business and make a fortune...

I dozed off, and the voices of the Polished Boots and of the Long Tongue merged together. No, it was only an illusion. The Polished Boots promises to put the whole of Russia down for allowances of three meals a day (with portions approved by the Ministry of Defence), cigarettes, pocket money; besides, we'll be allowed a weekly bath, a film show every Saturday and leave of absence (as a reward for good work). The Long Tongue takes a different approach: anyone is free to make money, but no one is supposed to engage in politics, to criticize the underlying principles or to call them in question. Instead of openness, democracy, and freedom there will be discipline, law, and order.



I was perhaps the only one in the block not to turn on my TV set that evening. All the other tenants – factory workers – even those who had to rise early on the following day just couldn't tear themselves away from the Polished Boots and the Long Tongue.

How did they manage to "steal the show"? What they said could either scare the people, or produce laughs. Their economic programmes are hopeless, and their recipes for riding out the crisis are sheer quackery. As to their political programmes, they spelt a nationwide concentration camp. A detached analysis of what the Polished Boots and the Long Tongue say will show what dangerous quacks we are dealing with. Why, then, didn't anyone turn his TV set off?

Cipolla's authority has mounted to the extent of compelling people to dance – in the literal sense of the word. At that late hour the spectators fell into a perverted frame of mind, into confusion, a drunken breakdown of will. He compelled a sickly and self-effacing youth, whom he had previously put to hypnotic sleep, to open a dancing orgy. Mindless submissiveness was the young man's second nature, he was only too happy to get rid of his paltry "ego" for a while; therefore, he repeatedly volunteered for the role of a "guinea pig" and enjoyed being put under hypnosis, depersonalized, and overpowered.

Although half asleep, I heard Marya Anisimovna stir next door. She had just come home from work, and the first thing she did was turn her television set on, of course.

The Polished Boots and the Long Tongue, who had merged together into a centaur of sorts, found a new foothold for an attack. They redoubled their efforts to talk Marya Anisimovna and myself into following them and believing them alone because they knew the recipe for an early and ultimate happiness. I heard the old woman echoing our centaur: "That's right, it is about time they've cracked down on those coop people and crooks, people have got out of hand, what do they mean by complaining, aren't our stores full of bread and potatoes, so what more do they want?"

Like all the dwellers of our apartment block – who already felt dazed, I am sure – Marya Anisimovna continued to listen to that double-voiced centaur far into the night.

They had never seen and heard people like the Polished Boots and especially like the Long Tongue who didn't pull his punches and who promised to remedy the situation overnight. Marya Anisimovna probably remembered the dull and inarticulate public speakers of old who had struggled through page after page of prepared texts written for them by others, and who couldn't say as much as a word on their own. They couldn't stand comparison with the Polished Boots and the Long Tongue who were good at repartees and promised the moon.

People hunger for someone who can confidently lead them to a prosperous life. Come on, let's cast all doubts aside and follow these strong men who say they know all the answers. They will put order and system into our life and rule us with an iron hand.

I turned from side to side on my sofa, but all was in vain. There was no getting away from the voices of the Polished Boots and the Long Tongue. The ordeal went on and on without end.

Suddenly the Long Tongue and the Polished Boots fell silent. All silver screens – and, in fact, all lights – went out. I knew what happened: Marya Anisimovna had burnt the fuses out again. Her electrical samovar – a gift from the house management on the occasion of her retirement on pension – was too much for our house's old electric wiring overloaded as it was by a multitude of TV sets which were on at the same time. I heaved a huge sigh of relief and felt grateful to Marya Anisimovna who had rid me of the presumptuous centaur.

Then I sunk into a deep sleep, and it was only the following morning that I leafed through the rest of the novel about Cipolla. It all ended well: the evil magician was killed, and the people were delivered from his charms.

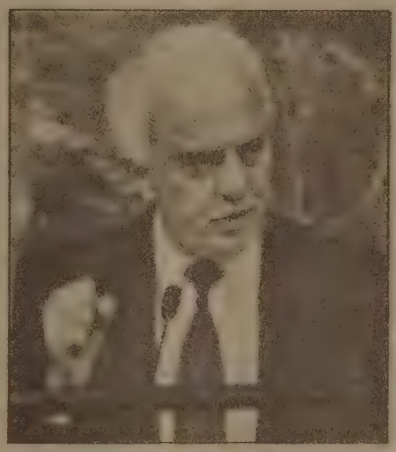
What Marya Anisimovna did to our own hypnotizers was more humane, I thought, and replaced the book on its shelf.

Thomas Mann had written the novelette *Mario and the Magician* in 1930. It went down in the history of world literature as an example of political prevision. No other author had so much succeeded in laying bare the anatomy of National-Socialists' winning over the worked-up mob to their side.

Leonid Mlechin

"A new party is needed now"

"It reminds me of the 1930s," was Eduard Shevardnadze's comment on the CC CPSU reaction to his idea of setting up a new party



The promptness with which an action was brought against one of the universally recognized architects of perestroika, a former member of the Politburo and a member of the Party's Central Committee, came as a surprise to many in Austria. The practical conclusion with reference to the Communists' appeal to the Central Control Commission of the CPSU had been drawn in Moscow a little more than 24 hours after Shevardnadze, in his speech at a meeting with Austrian businessmen and public figures, openly expressed the idea of founding a new political party of the advocates of reforms.

Right after the decision made by the Party's central bodies reached Vienna, I met with Shevardnadze and asked him to comment on what had happened.

"I react to the news calmly and coolly," he replied. "I do not fear an investigation, though the decision reminds me of the 1930s. What are they going to investigate? I have stated my views clearly. I did not and do not conceal them. I have my personal opinions and I have expressed them on other questions, too. The Party ought first of all to investigate the causes of the events that shook our country and the world as a whole. I do not know what the reason was for making this decision. As far as I know, my Vienna speeches have not been published in the Soviet press. No one in Moscow got in touch with me to obtain exact information."

"Do you continue to believe, even after a stern warning from Moscow, that a new party must be founded?"

"Yes, I am convinced of that. We need a force which could become the basis. Such a party could include all democratically-minded people, and it does not matter to what party they belong or belonged. It is important that the party has an action programme that is clear and understandable to the voters.

"I think the time has passed when the election could be won thanks to criticism, on the basis of a negative 'programme' based orf the principle of 'we are against this or that.' The party which wants to win the next election – and it can be held next year if the decision of the 'ten' is carried out – should state in its programme not only **what** it advocates, but also how it intends to act concretely, how it will redistribute the financial and material resources into the market sector of the economy, and how it will stimulate the growth of output and business activity in the country. Such a party already has a political basis, and it will expand as the creative principles in economic life are applied on a wider scale and enterprise and market structures are developed. I think a new party can also rely on the support of large industrial and scientific associations, and enterprises in the coal industry which can now work independently. It is clear that such a party, a party of reforms, must carefully work out a programme for the social protection of citizens. It will be useful here to take advantage of the experience of Western countries, adopt their programmes of support of those sections of the population which need it. The voters should be told clearly that the quicker the necessary reforms are implemented, the quicker and more effectively the poor sections of the population can be protected. A new party must assert itself as a party of action and hope. If we manage to form such a party and organize its work for participation in elections, the country will have a parliament capable of giving scope to the creative productive forces and of launching the economic and cultural revival of our society.

"I believe that all this can be done. Moreover, the democratic forces of the country must do it. The question is how much time will be required to reform our political and economic system completely, to make it operative and effective. It is clear that this work will take years. How many years? Of considerable significance will be the external support of our reforms, the degree of integration of the Soviet economy in the world economic system."

"And yet will the appearance of a new party influence the political lineup in our country?"

"Yes, the founding of such a party will change the alignment of forces substantially. It can become a very useful and essential attribute of a democratic society. I am not seeking power. What I really want is to help Gorbachev, for he has practically no one to rely on today. Hard-liners are attacking him from all sides, and at this moment a new, serious and substantial force will appear.

"Incidentally, I think that the opposition is needed too. The formation of a constructive and reasonable opposition is quite a natural and very important matter. It will stimulate the onward movement of our society. A law-governed state cannot function without the oppositon."

"When can we expect the emergence of a new party? In a year or a month?"

"A new party is needed now. I have no doubts about this. Whether or not our society is prepared for this is a different question. I am sure, however, that many people will follow such a party."

"Don't you feel lonely, do you have any support?"

"I am a man of convictions and principles. Even if I remain alone I will uphold my ideas and consistently pursue my line."

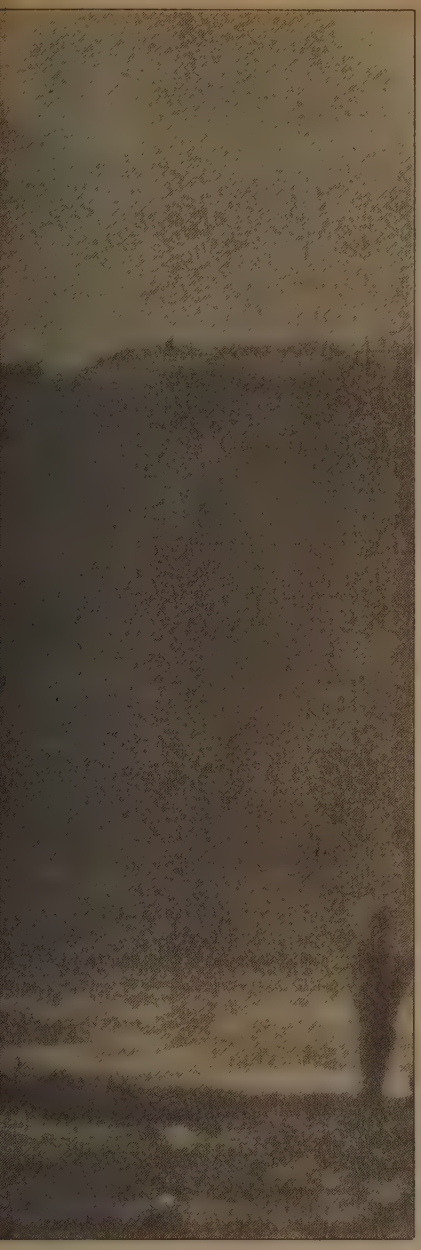
It was close to midnight when our conversation ended. Shevardnadze has had a hard day: meetings, talks, and an interesting lecture delivered in the overcrowded hall of the Austria International Centre of Congresses. Tomorrow he is expected to leave Vienna. Saying goodbye to me, Shevardnadze recalled the news from Moscow. "It is a great folly, a serious blunder. I thought that such things were no longer possible in our country. However, I was mistaken."

Anatoly Kovrigin,
our own correspondent
VIENNA

On the banks of the Bug, the early morning of June 22

June 22, 1941

Valentin Falin



It was in many different ways that the war affected every Soviet family, but no family was spared sufferings and grief

How many people were killed in the war – 26 or 27 million? How many were crippled for life – 20 million, or perhaps as many as 30 million? The fallen and the wounded still cannot get together into their mournful formations. Sometimes it seems impossible to ever tell the number of war victims: even all-healing Time cannot ease the pain and reconcile heart with reason.

Half a century has passed, but the Sunday of June 22, 1941 will be forever etched in people's memory. The year 1941 has become a tragic symbol. It could not have been otherwise: the day, the hour, and the second when the war began started the countdown to the nation's later life and fate.

That is how I remember the very first day of the war. In the spring of 1941 it seemed that the very air was breathing menace. Few people believed the smooth-worded official TASS reports and other such propaganda barbiturates, which were intended to convince the nation that Soviet-German relations had never been better. We the cadets of Moscow's 5th School of Artillery were vividly discussing the imminent war and our swift victory in it.

The cadets who were taught to handle the famous three-inch anti-tank guns were supposed to believe in the "overwhelming might of the Red Army" – the Red Army's ability to destroy any enemy, to crush any enemy in his den. Almost every cadet thought of himself as a Caesar, a Napoleon, or a Clausewitz, which was only natural for the boys of 15 or 16. Unlike our cadet school, the General Staff seriously lacked outstanding strategists... Anyhow we were all greatly inspired when we marched in tight formations across Red Square on May 1, 1941, which was my only military parade in Moscow.

The day of June 21 was a busy one: in the evening, we were to sail off aboard a steamer to the location of our school's summer training camp on the Oka River under the authority of the Ryazan Heavy Artillery College. The steamer sailed off exactly on time. Ahead of us was our first experience of feeling the hardships of military life, handling real combat hardware and becoming real soldiers. Not surprisingly, we were too excited to sleep, and sometimes the roar of the veteran steamer's engine was drowned out by the noise of our agitated voices.

Had our voyage lasted a couple of days, not just 10 or 11 hours, we would have spent more time happily ignorant of the fact that we were actually sailing from the shores of peace towards the shores of war. While the crew was busy mooring the steamer, we wondered why the berth was deserted. Were we unwanted there? Or maybe on Sundays the military wanted a bit of relaxation as well?

Suddenly the figure of a senior lieutenant appeared on the berth. He squeezed the bitter word "war" out of himself in a gruff voice and after a short pause added: "At dawn the fascists invaded the USSR, the Luftwaffe is bombing Kiev and other cities."

After a moment of stupor the whole school started humming like a beehive, demanding an immediate return to Moscow and a march to the front. The commotion stopped after the batallion Commissar Polyakov barked an order: "Disembark, march to the location, pitch tents and wait for further orders!" My watch showed 6:20 a.m.

The nation was to learn about the tragedy at noon from the radio address read by Vyacheslav Molotov, the then head of the Soviet government. The whole nation – men, women and children – were in for 1,418 days of infernal suffering. The Great Patriotic War had begun. The dilemma was to win or to die.

Actually, what Hitler had planned for the Soviet Union could not even be called a war in the conventional sense of the word. As he addressed the commanders of all branches of the German armed forces on January 9, 1941, Hitler said that the main feature making the war with the USSR different from other wars was that "its character was antagonistic to the normal character of war in the west and the north of Europe" and that the "final objective of the war was to totally destroy and eliminate Russia as a state."

The Plan "Ost" stipulated "total Germanization" of territories populated by 22 million people and later, all the territories stretching as far as the Urals, with the total population of 80 to 100 million. Since the population was not made up of "humans in the European definition," local people, in particular Slavs, were to be exterminated.

In November 1941, Hermann Göring allowed himself to be sincere in a conversation with Italy's foreign minister, Ciano: "This year, 20 to 30 million people are going to die of hunger in Russia. It is perhaps even good that they should die, because some peoples will have to be reduced anyway." "Our guiding principle," Hitler instructed his entourage, "must be that the only justification of those peoples' continued existence is that they may be useful for Germany economically."

The degree of brutality was not com-

manded by the merciless logic of military expediency or the cruel nature of armed struggle. The evil was cultivated according to detailed programmes worked out by the Reich ideologues. And the sensation-hungry public was generously fed legends about "a preventive strike," about the necessity of preventing Soviet aggression "in the interests of Germany and the West." However, such legends were produced later.

Soviet POWs as photographed by German reporters

In June 1940, Hitler instructed Halder and Jodl to start working out a plan for the Eastern campaign. On September 6 the head of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht staff issued the order to take all efforts to disguise all preparatory measures connected with the plan to attack the USSR. Directive 21 said unequivocally: "Decisive attention must be attached to keeping our intention to attack the USSR absolutely secret."

Somewhere in March 1941, after they had sent "the greatest piece of misinformation in the history of war" to the Soviet Union, the German policy planners started propagating another thesis, this time intended for Germans and peoples allied to Germany – the thesis about defensive measures being taken to counter a possible Soviet strike. "Despite the postponement of the date (of the beginning of war against the USSR)," Keitel stressed in his April 3, 1941 order, "all preparatory measures must continue to be heavily disguised by all possible means and presented to the troops as measures for securing our rear against a possible Soviet attack."

This is how the "preventive attack" theory started worming its way into the historical science.

Today's advocates of this theory are trying hard to find a justification, or even forgiveness for what Hitler and the forces that backed him did. They do not seem at all discouraged by the failure of past such attempts, and they are quite inspired by the readiness of some Soviet "experts" to provide them with assistance. What if they succeed this time? What breath-taking opportunities would open for them to rape the future as they have raped history! After all, I am quoting the Instructions for the Troops' Conduct in Russia of May 19, 1941: "Bolshevism is the arch-enemy of the National-Socialist German nation; Germany is waging a struggle against that corrupting ideology and its followers."

The best way to avoid responsibility for a crime is to remove the victim. "Anyone who as much as looks askance at a German soldier will be shot on the spot" – this and other instructions by Hitler were becoming paragraphs in regulations On Military Justice in the Barbarossa Zone.

The Soviet scientific and especially pseudoscientific literature usually concentrates on Hitler's treachery and "the suprise factor." Hitler was treacherous to be sure, but was there really any "surprise factor"? This factor existed only in Stalin's imagination and in the Soviet public opinion distorted by the official propaganda. There are many facts that confirm this.

On December 18, 1941, Hitler approved Plan Barbarossa. 11 days after that Soviet intelligence reported to Moscow that Germany was starting full-scale preparation for war against the Soviet Union.

So, Stalin could not have had any misunderstanding as to the purpose of Hitler's amassing manpower and materiel in Eastern Prussia, Poland and Slovakia. Berlin's claims that the troops and hardware amassed in the East were actually forces of Operation Seelöwe temporarily deployed away from La Manche to take Britain by surprise, should not have lulled Stalin. On the contrary, the Soviet leader must have sounded the alarm.

By the date of the German aggression, the Soviet General Staff had had the following picture of German deployment: all in all there were 191 divisions, of which 146 were German divisions and the rest were divisions of German allies. German documents captured later showed that the actual number of divisions deployed in the East was 199 and 154 respectively. It must be noted that the last prewar intelligence report could not possibly have mentioned the German divisions that arrived after June 20. The information about the deployment of the main forces was equally detailed and precise, which made it possible to determine the direction of the main German thrust.

Thus, for Stalin to acknowledge that the German attack should not have come as a surprise for the USSR, he had to face a loss of faith in his own gift of prophesy and vision. The Soviet leader would later do a lot of munching of Hitler's "treachery," stressing in his contacts with the United States and Great Britain the necessity of observing international commitments for the sake of security. Was it an attempt to justify his error that nearly became a national catastrophe before the nation, or a sincere desire to learn lessons from the past? Today only historians are interested in this.

Stalin and some top Soviet military brass were caught by surprise by the strategic scheme of the German command: the pattern of practical implementation of the strategies, and also (let me emphasize this) the Nazi philosophy of "war without rules." Our vision of realities was blurred by ideological dogmas. One of them said: German soldiers are but workers and peasants wearing combat fatigues. They would not become killers of their Soviet class brothers. This was a comfortable way

of thinking. In any case, no one in the Soviet Union could even imagine the scale of Nazi brutality, in comparison to which all brutalities preserved in the historical memory of the people paled. No one could even imagine a war in which the front and the rear would be blended together and where children still clutching at their mothers' skirts would bravely stand up against armed invaders.

Let me once again refer to my memory of war time. The radio was too busy to mention all cities and towns that surrendered to the enemy. Even the most narrow-minded people could see quite clearly that it was time to forget the bravura marches. And what did we hear constantly from the political instructors in air training camp until Stalin's speech of July 3? We were regularly fed stories about the heroes of the past battles and examples of Red Army heroism and self-sacrifice. Each political indoctrination lecture ended with the incantation: "Our cause is right, and victory shall be ours!"

Initially the war was Hitler's aggression, not Germany's, a war against Nazism, not the German nation. Later, this attitude was replaced by the approach: you wanted a war of extermination, you'll get it. Fortunately, however, there were no exact replicas of Nazi brutalities on our part. The thirst for total destruction was overcome by the approach that Hitlers came and went, while the German state and the German nation remained.

Naturally, it was impossible for us and many other people in similar positions to analyze the rigidly censored information trying to forecast the events. However, there were no doubts that the war would be a lengthy and cruel one. Different reactions to the sudden collapse of the familiar way of life were visible to even an eye unarmed with suspicion. However, I had never heard anyone say that ours was a hopeless situation and all resistance to the rapidly advancing enemy was in vain. The faith that Russia would overcome any foe, survive any ordeal consolidated the nation and prevented people from losing hope in the seemingly hopeless moments which were many.

By the way, President Benesch of Czechoslovakia was the only politician who did not hasten to write off the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1941. Other politicians argued about how much time was left for Russia – three or five weeks or more – and calculated the possible costs of Russia's disappearance. I shall not elaborate on this matter, as it deserves a special study.

However, I would like to bring up one debatable point. It seemed that the situation in 1941 could not have been worse than it actually was. It seemed that the nation had drunk its fill from the bitter cup. Nonetheless, I am inclined to think that fate did protect us from a number of additional problems.

Let us imagine that Hitler's campaign in the Balkan Peninsula went smoothly. Yugoslavia and Greece could have easily been added to the list of German satellites without any long armed struggle had the pro-fascist fifth columns worked there as they did in Hungary and Romania. What if it had happened? The war against the Soviet Union would have begun several weeks earlier – the several precious weeks Hitler lacked in the autumn of 1941.

The conclusion is: the Yugoslavs' and Greeks' determined resistance to the invaders, their courageous struggle for their freedom and independence was of great importance to the Soviet people in frustrating the Nazi blitzkrieg. Some people may object to this; citing the January 31, 1941 OKW directive stipulating the postponement of the aggression deadline from May 15 to June 21. There is a counterargument to this – the Brauchitsch directive (No. 644/41) of April 7, 1941, which stipulated the deployment of additional forces for the Balkan campaign and the consequent postponement of Operation Barbarossa for 4 to 6 weeks, that is until June 22.

The grief of Russia

Was Stalin seeking a conflict with Hitler in 1941? If the Soviet Armed Forces were at the height of the modernization effort and Stalin planned that the Red Army would be ready for major combat no sooner than 1942, how could he have possibly sought a conflict? It seems that the actual situation was exactly the opposite. Even on June 22, Stalin refused to believe it was war. Several hours after Signal Dortmund was sounded, as thousands of German planes started raiding the USSR and millions of barrels belched fire on Soviet positions, Stalin was interrogating Marshals Timoshenko and Shaposhnikov and Generals Zhukov and Vasilevsky to see if they were sure it was really war, not a provocation.

On the fifth or sixth day of the war, Stalin lapsed into deep depression and retired to a dacha near Moscow. When other members of the Soviet political and party leadership visited him at that dacha to tell him that the enemy was not wasting time, Stalin, as witnesses recall, was scared to death. He thought he would be deposed and arrested right away. Instead, he became an absolute ruler: the ways of Providence are inscrutable.

Another episode. How would the situation on the front have developed had the German command not forced the offensive in July-August 1941? The initial successes made the German leadership blind. The hard facts, rarely held in any esteem in Germany, totally paled in comparison with the growing appetites. Hitler suppressed the doubts that had suddenly dawned on him as to whether the Eastern campaign against the USSR would be possible to end in 1941 and yielded to the pressure of the military authorities who would not wait to storm Moscow – the key to the ultimate victory as they saw it.

Allow me to make a small digression. Life is rich in unusual situations. Sometimes life surprises one with its paradoxes. The German strategists regarded the approach of the Leningrad-Arkhangelsk-Volga-Caucasus line as the key to the military defeat of the Soviet Union. At the same time, their British counterparts were drawing the same line as the final link of the strategic encirclement of Germany, planning it as the frontier from which Germany would start to be pressed out. "If Germany becomes involved deeply in Russia, there is a good chance of holding on in Mid-

dle East," said the report in the British General Staff prepared for the joint British-American conference at the end of July 1941. As the Soviet Union was fighting to death – not at all sure of the final victory, London's attention was riveted to the Persian Gulf.

Neither the Hitler strategy of circumventing Moscow, nor the Brauchitsch-Halder variant of committing all forces against the Soviet capital, nor the compromise variant offered by Jodl could guarantee success to the Reich. Today this can be stated with certainty. However, from the viewpoint of 1942 realities, Hitler's plan was the most dangerous for the USSR. And considering the situation, one must admit that Directive 35 (September 6, 1941) and the resulting Operation Taifun (an all-out attack against Moscow) was the easiest option for the Soviet Union to counter in the winter of 1941.

The strategic defeat of the German army near Moscow was the logical finale of the adventurist policies, although Hitler said the decision to invade Russia was the most difficult and the most painfully made decision of his life. I would even say that in the snow-covered fields near Moscow, Germany lost more than a strategic battle, it lost the whole war – the war it unleashed in 1938-1939 and on which it pinned all hopes for European and then world dominance. The battle for Moscow was the most important battle of WW2. After the battle, the defeat of Germany was only a matter of time.

The 1941 victory near Moscow cost the Soviet Union 6 million people – killed, missing, or captured. We had to create a new army to replace the one we had lost, to develop a new industry to compensate for the defense plants in the areas occupied by Germany, to train new officers and enlisted men in highly unfavourable conditions. The Soviet Union was successful in coping with that tremendous challenge.

As for the Wehrmacht, it was never restored to the qualitative parametres it had before the invasion. The blitzkrieg for which the Wehrmacht had been intended and designed was over. Germany was to wage a war for saving its skin, not winning dominance. When interrogated in 1945, General Jodl said, "Hitler realized that the war was over and lost earlier than anyone."

It is true that in January-February, 1942, the Red Army exhausted its offensive potential. But the Soviet Union had allies at that time. Had those allies not confined themselves to expressing admiration of Soviet victories, but displayed preparedness to share the military glory, the German blitzkrieg might not have had such a long and gloomy continuation, and dozens of millions of lives would have been saved.

Let us recall that on September 13, 1941, Stalin suggested to Winston Churchill that Britain deploy 25 to 30 fresh divisions in Russia. Imagine that the British did really send at least 10 full divisions to the Eastern front. How would this have influenced the combat situation in the winter of 1941, when the Wehrmacht's combat power on the Eastern front dropped below the critical mark?

The British premier, however, regarded the Stalin initiative as "absurd" and "utter nonsense." He did not respond to it, just as he had not responded to an earlier Soviet request to destroy Germany's main oil supply base at Ploiesti, Romania, by using British bombers flying off Soviet airstrips in the Crimea. The British and the Americans lived a measured life and regarded the Soviet troubles with a feeling of detachment. They were calculating how to exhaust the enemy without exhausting themselves and to force the enemy to capitulate after one, two or three years.

I fully share Garry Hopkins' view that Europe could have been saved from the nightmare in 1942, or at the latest by the summer of 1943. In this case, the war in Asia would not have dragged on for such a long time either (till the autumn of 1945). However, history knows many missed opportunities.

In 1945, General Jodl complained: "The war with Russia is the kind of war which you know how to start, but never know how

The man who wanted to warn Stalin

Alfred Liskow was the first German soldier whose warning of the German attack was believed in the Kremlin

Today, half a century later, it may be difficult to reproduce to the minutest detail the events of that short summer night in June 1941, the last peaceful night for the Soviet Union. However, one of the events is deeply etched in my memory. This event is connected with the name of the German antifascist, Alfred Liskow, whom I happened to meet in Moscow.

Liskow was brought to Moscow under rather unusual circumstances. The Vladimir-Volynsky border guards station reported: "At 21:00 hours of June 21, 1941, a private of German Infantry Regiment 222, Infantry Division 74, Alfred Liskow, who defected from the Germans, was apprehended on the fourth border segment, taken to the headquarters and interrogated. At the interrogation, Liskow said the German army would start an offensive at 04:00 hours of June 22, as he had been told by his company commander, Ober-Lieutenant Schultz. Besides, Liskow said he had seen the artillery being moved onto the firing positions, and tanks and infantry deployed for offensive."

The report was so important that General Khomenko, Commander of the Border Guards of the Ukraine, was woken up in the middle of the night. Khomenko immediately reported to his superiors in Moscow and to the commander of the Kiev Special Military District.

In his memoires, Marshal Zhukov recalls further developments. In the evening of June 21, he wrote, he received a telephone call from Kiev, from Liet. Gen. Purkayev, who told him that a German defector had been caught who insisted that the German troops were deploying for a major offensive that was scheduled for the morning of June 22. Zhukov immediately reported to Joseph Stalin and Defence Commissar Timoshenko. Stalin ordered that Zhukov and Timoshenko come to the Kremlin at once. This is how Zhukov recalls what happened in the Kremlin:

"Joseph Stalin met us alone. He was visibly preoccupied and worried.

"Could this defector have been planted by German generals in order to provoke us into conflict," Stalin asked.

"I do not think so," Timoshenko replied.

"We believe that the German is telling the truth."

Meanwhile members of the Politburo entered Stalin's study.

"What do we do now?" Stalin asked.

There was no answer.

"We must send a directive immediately, ordering stand-by alert to all military districts along the border."

"Read it out!" Stalin said.

I read the draft directive. Stalin noted:

"It is too early to send out such a directive. Perhaps we will be able to sort things out in a peaceful manner. We must send a short directive warning our troops that the aggression may start with provocative activities on the part of the German troops."

Zhukov and the head of the Operational Department of the General Staff, Vatutin, quickly drafted a new directive which Stalin endorsed. The directive said, in particular: "The troops of the Leningrad, Special Baltic, Special Western, Special Kiev and Odessa Military Districts were hereby instructed to remain on stand-by alert and be prepared to repel any possible attack by the Germans on German allies." The directive was sent out later that night, but it was already too late.

... After he was brought to Moscow, Liskow told his odyssey to us the officers of the 7th Department of the Main Political Directorate of the Red Army. He impressed us as a straightforward person sure of his message and well aware of the purpose of his ac-

it is going to end." This is another variant of Hitler's casual remark: "We have opened the door, not knowing what was there behind it." The folk wisdom says that one must always think twice before attempting anything.

What heights civilization could have reached if all politicians always followed this wisdom, without forgetting the moral imperatives. Said Sophokles, "terrible may be the mind if it does not serve man."

* * *

The year's longest day, June 22, 1941, has come down in the history of war generations as the most bitter day. The tears of widows and orphans have long been shed. Veterans' wounds may hurt more on that day. However, any story about the fifty-year-old events has one and the same ending: we would never wish that even our enemies live through what we lived through during that war. Russia survived because it was determined to rule out any possibility of a 1941 repetition.

Now we know that keeping peace is difficult, but we also know that the prospect of lasting peace is not a mirage. Lasting peace can become a reality if all nations unite in building a common, brighter world for themselves.

Photos taken from the book Operation Barbarossa, published in Germany

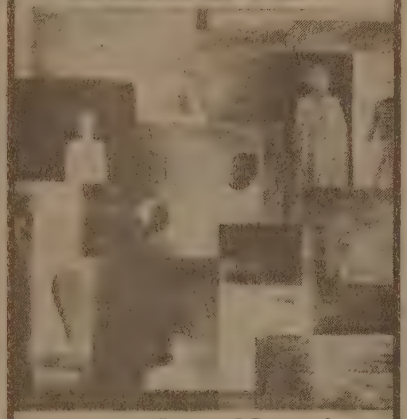
tions. He was just over 30 and had been a worker before the war, and participated in the turbulent political developments at the pre-Hitler time. His father was a Communist Party member, and he himself a member of Der Rot Front.

When the Comintern was evacuated from Moscow during the troubled days of October 1941, Liskow found himself in the city of Ufa, where the leaders of the German anti-fascist emigration worked.

However, soon after that Liskow's name stopped being mentioned in the leaflets and appeals, distributed by the political indoctrination officers of the Red Army among the hostile troops and population. What happened to him? As it turned out, the Soviet secret police, headed by Lavrenty Beria, remembered Stalin's remark ("could this defector have been planted by German generals?") and started framing Liskow up. In spite of the fact that his warning was confirmed by the bitter course of developments, the German anti-fascist Liskow was slandered as an agent provocateur and a German spy. Evidently, the remark that Stalin dropped the night of June 22, when he met with Zhukov and Timoshenko was fatal for Liskow.

E. Brodsky,
professor

AN EXHIBITION OF PAINTING, DRAWING AND SCULPTURE
was held in the Exhibition Hall of the Union of Soviet Artists in Moscow in June of 1991.



• Warmth and love in the works of Ela Binshtok. Her genre is the portrait. The portrait of man, trees, houses...

• Objects and space blend into a single whole in the pictures of Oleg Krotkov. Self-illuminating objects interact and live their own lives in his still lives.

• Both artists are concerned with social and philosophical topics.

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POLEMICS

It's inappropriate to haggle

Until the psychology of a capricious colony is eliminated, the dollar rain will be dangerous for the Soviet Union

Ilya Gerol,
a political scientist (Canada)

Excessive national pride is a direct consequence of malnutrition. Since there are not many starving nations in the world today, most participants in the debate about whether or not to take money from the West seem to be in favour of the Soviet Union joining the international club along with Myanma, Nepal, Cuba and the Cooperative Republic of Guayana.

Nevertheless, the acceptance of a sort of Marshall Plan by Moscow will be a no less crucial moment in Soviet history than the sad day in the rainy autumn of 1917, when the question was posed as: "it was early yesterday, but it will be late tomorrow."

Vologodskoye butter "Made in USA"

The danger of not receiving 60 to 80 billion dollars, a kind of blood transfusion to the almost hopelessly sick Soviet economy pales in comparison with the more serious danger of unexpectedly receiving them. There are moralists, a highly respected category of people, who do not even want to hear about Western financial and economic aid because of the fear (a justified one) that the flow of dollars will also bring a spate of foam in the form of the Western way of life which is so distasteful to General Albert Makashov and frightens writer Vasily Belov, who sincerely wants his native city of Vologda to remain in its romantic misery from which it has suffered during the last 70 years. Their arguments have no relation to the economy. They simply believe that the treble repetition of the word "Russian" can serve as a substitute for the lack of meat in shops, and perhaps will even provide meat through some miracle. It is not unnatural that Vologodskoye butter is produced today only by the Rova farm in a New York suburb, while people in Vologda have almost forgotten its taste. It is important that Vologda will remain a purely Russian area, as Vasily Belov demands, while Vologodskoye butter can be tasted during a business trip to the United States.

So, without refuting the arguments of moralists filled with national pride and even superiority – after all, they have every reason to disagree with a well-known proverb, "better be rich and healthy than poor and sick" – let us turn to economic arguments.

The majority of Soviet economists, motivated by political reasons, as is only natural at a time when the country is in a state of collapse, agree that aid must be accepted if it is offered. In fact, these economists, being quite enlightened and market-minded, have already devised very cunning theories about how best to use the money. Some propose investing it in agriculture, private farming, of course, not collective and state farms. True, they do not know yet how to do that – whether to give money in envelopes to newly emerged farmers or to buy a wonderful Fordzon tractor for each of them. Others want to launch the world's largest housing programme. Houses and flats will, naturally, be sold to private owners through the market mechanism. Who can afford to buy these flats, however, if a kilo of meat produced and sold by the private sector in

Moscow will soon cost a third of a worker's monthly wage? But economists do not usually look too far ahead. They are possessed by violent political passions and therefore are not interested in long-range results.

Leading Soviet emigrants have also joined the debate on how to best use the loans, investments, injections and gifts which have not yet been offered by anyone. Most often they come out with what is called a "package" in American political and economic parlance, that is, a complete programme.

Drawing by Igor Shein

Alexander Yanov, Igor Birman and Alexander Solzhenitsyn have advanced clearly defined and exquisitely shaped programmes for rebuilding Russia. They have the best motives, expressing a great many interesting thoughts and correctly noting the details of a monstrous break-up of the Soviet Union's economic and social structures.

Advantages of being poor

The World Bank is an amazingly flexible and powerful financial instrument of the international economic community embracing all countries except the Soviet Union, Myanma, Nicaragua, Surinam and two or three more states. During the last 20 years it has been able to transform the world economy by raising poor nations to the level of developing ones, developing nations to the level of industrial ones, and industrial nations to the level of highly industrialized ones, even to the intellectual and humanist level which enables them to share their wealth with poor nations and even to benefit from it. The method used by the World Bank is rooted in the famous Marshall Plan. This plan was forgotten long ago. It arouses wrong associations even among many economists – the idea of rich Uncle Sam coming to Europe with a bag of money.

The Marshall Plan and subsequently the financial policy of the World Bank were based on one principal idea, namely, that every dollar given as a loan or investment, or gratis aid must be spent only on the purpose for which it was granted. To ensure the proper use of loans, the banks and other financial bodies that took part in the Marshall Plan and later in the World Bank operations, strictly controlled the expenditure of the allocated resources.

No national pride prevented the French and other Europeans in the early 1950s, or the Latin Americans, South Koreans, Malaysians, Thais and Taiwanese in the 1970s and 1980s from accepting with gratitude the control and strict observation over the flow of dollars on the part of those who lent them.

In the Soviet Union, the wrongly understood feeling of national pride does not allow some people to see the gravity of the country's economic situation.

According to research done by Canadian and American universities, the output of some consumer goods and foodstuffs in the Soviet Union will drop by 40 percent in 1991 and 1992. Such a drop was not recorded even during the Great Patriotic War. At the same time, the military-industrial complex and the huge four-million strong army devour almost a third of the national income.

Despite all this, most candidates

in the recent presidential elections in Russia and top officials in Moscow did not hesitate to make unequivocal, odd statements that the Soviet Union would take loans, but would use them at its own discretion. The Soviet Union, they said, is a great power, and no one can be allowed to control it.

Political and economic leaders of various countries, World Bank experts, MPs and scientists, deeply concerned about the fate of the sinking Soviet ship and the prospect of the development of a globally dangerous vortex, have often met of late to find ways of saving the ship. However, the theme of the national pride of Great Russians is still repeated at press conferences held by Soviet officials in European capitals.

A conclusion must be drawn and will evidently be drawn quite soon, before the winter shortages of food are felt in Soviet cities. Moscow will not receive loans, and there will be no Marshall Plan in its new version. Loans, even small ones, for the completion of projects already started will not be granted. However, the national pride will rise greatly, with writers praising independent poverty and the advantages of a hungry way of life.

Harsh terms

I belong to a small group of analysts in the West who think – and I say this with a profound desire to help the Soviet Union overcome its terrible crisis – that multi-billion dollar investments in the Soviet economy should be postponed in spite of the dangers that its collapse could create for the world.

Not a single dollar should be lent or granted to the Soviet Union until the psychology of a capricious colony (with the political credo of asking more and more) which replaced the arrogance of a pseudosuperpower gives way to the sober realization that the crisis can be overcome only after the Soviet Union joins the world economic community on terms common for all nations.

The Soviet Union needs not a multi-billion dollar loan but a real Marshall Plan under which it must accept the terms stated by the donors. These terms are simple:

– the rouble must become a convertible currency, however difficult it may be in the initial period;

– a market economy with its multiple forms must be introduced while ministries in their present form must be abolished, because the World Bank does not give subsidies to bankrupt government bodies;

– the money and the financial programmes offered by the World Bank must be used for specified purposes and strictly controlled by the donors: it is in the interest of the sick man, as a doctor checking the use of a strong medicine would say;

– Cuba and other dubious friends must be thrown off the back of the crippled Soviet economy; indeed, one cannot seriously expect the World Bank to subsidize, say, the maintenance of Cuban troops abroad.

Under these terms, which are quite logical and do not hurt anyone's dignity, Moscow will also have to solve the problem of the four islands of the Kurile range which were proclaimed Russian land in 1945. The world has become smaller and more indivisible. The reappearance of butter in Vologda also depends, in part, on how soon the four islands will be returned to Japan to whom they previously belonged and must still belong. After that Tokyo will withdraw its objections to giving massive aid to the Soviet Union.

Among the World Bank terms not stated directly there is one which nevertheless must be taken into account.

Until the Soviet army is cut drastically and a military reform is enacted that would make it more compact, up-to-date, efficient and cheaper, it is difficult to expect that Western financial bodies, politicians, and even a large section of the public will be willing to help the USSR. On the other hand, a reduction of the army and conversion are complex and long-term processes. They can be effected only in cooperation with Western military-industrial complexes, which have also reached a deadlock by producing huge quantities of unnecessary arms.

The Soviet Union can and must work out and declare a plan to convince public opinion in the West, the World Bank and all those who sincerely want the USSR to become a member of the club of civilized democratic nations that sooner or later the Soviet army will be transformed into a normal modern army, while the Soviet military-industrial complex will join the process of conversion.

Indeed, yesterday it was too early to receive aid amounting to tens of billions of dollars. The country was not ready to accept them and realize the need for a Marshall Plan in a new version. But it may be late tomorrow. The Soviet Union must receive aid today. However, it must also be transformed today so that this aid will prove effective.

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Friend or foe?

An Afghan Air Force plane bombed Soviet territory. Are Soviet borders secure if there is a war going on in Afghanistan?

It is not the first time that an Afghan Air Force plane has bombed Soviet territory. A similar incident occurred soon after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan: an Afghan plane intruded into Soviet airspace, was overlooked by Soviet air defence, and dropped bombs on the Tajik town of Khorog. The tragic accident left several people dead. Two years ago the Soviet authorities kept silent about the accident. The recent bombing of the Tajik village of Namadguti Pohen, however, has been widely commented on by the press.

The Sukhoy–25 jet was perfectly in order and piloted by an experienced airman – deputy commander of the Afghan Air Force. The pilot was misled by the almost indistinguishable appearance of Soviet and Afghan villages scattered in the mountains on both sides of the border. Contrary to the will of the Afghan government, such accidents happen now and then, which means that this country's constant pumping of arms into Afghanistan does not serve its chief purpose of making Soviet people safer. Why does the Soviet Union continue supplying Afghanistan with weapons?

Argument One: arms supplies are a factor of border security.

Kabul rarely speaks about the Soviet people's "fraternal assistance" to Afghanistan. The ideological motives of the "internationalist duty" are receding into the past to be replaced by the rigid standards of the state interests of the two countries. President Najibullah said: "15,000 Soviet soldiers were killed in Afghanistan, and I fully sympathize with their mothers' grief. How much blood would be spilled, though, if Hekmatyar succeeded in stirring up Soviet Muslims?"

The current Kabul government undertakes to guarantee the political, military and ideological stability and security of the Soviet Union's southern borders. The bombing raid by the Afghan Air Force jet demonstrated that no Afghan government is able to guarantee all this as long as war continues in Afghanistan itself.

In 1990, Soviet arms supplies to Afghanistan amounted to US$3.4 billion, according to the US State Department. This means approximately $300 million a month. However, one should not jump at conclusions as to how dearly we pay for having Afghanistan as an ally. There are two explanations for why this country benefits from such massive arms supplies. Moscow insists it sells arms, that it does not give them away for free. Some time in the future, when Afghanistan becomes an economically prosperous and stable nation, which it had been before the Soviet invasion, the Soviet Union will get the money back.

The other explanation is that, according to Western speculation, Afghanistan does not owe the USSR anything, because it pays all the bills by providing the Soviet Union with uranium from the mines out of the mujahedin control.

Which of the two explanations is correct remains a state secret. One thing is obvious, though: Moscow benefits from supporting the current regime in Kabul. But what about the moral aspect of this support?

It is blasphemous to write about Soviet armaments in Afghanistan just because some Soviet-made bombs hit Soviet territory. After all, Soviet-made weapons are killing people every day in Afghanistan... Very probably, had the SU-25 not released its bombs over the Soviet territory, it would have later bombed Tajik peasants to the south of the Soviet border. Very probably, the bombs would have killed peaceful peasants, who are poorer than Soviet Tajiks and suffering from unending hunger.

The accuracy of bombing depends on the pilot's expertise and the altitude of bombing. It is risky to approach the target at a low altitude. Sometimes the desire to release the bombs without losing altitude brings about surprising results: during last year's abortive coup staged by the Afghan defence minister, Tanai, not a single bomb hit either the presidential palace or the PDPA Central Committee headquarters – the principal targets of the putschists. Instead, a couple of bombs exploded close to the Soviet embassy compound.

This does not apply to Afghanistan alone. One French doctor once told me how he and some Soviet doctors came under a bombing attack by Soviet-made MIGs in Chad. Everybody survived because the aiming was highly inaccurate.

Let us not discuss the military expertiseof Soviet clients, though. The whole nation shuddered when the stray Afghan jet released bombs over the wrong target. In principle, similar upsetting things often happen to Soviet-made arms, because of such arms' performance characteristics; it happens to missiles more often than planes. The Soviet Union supplies Afghanistan with antiquated weapons, which makes the arms trade all the more profitable for Moscow. The tactical Scud missiles, which Afghans call "vengeance of Allah" belong to the first generation of the Scud programme. By the way, Iraq has much more advanced Scuds. Kabul's Scuds are impossible to aim accurately at all, and as a result, more powerful warheads are used with them. A monstrous arrow of fire cutting through the air with a terrible roar lays waste to meters of rock when it hits its target. 1,554 Scuds have been fired in Afghanistan since the Soviet pullout. How many civilians have been harmed?

When I was in Kabul, someone told me about an "amusing" episode. The narrator was even smiling. The rebels used one of the villages in the mountains above Kabul as a launching site from which they unleashed rockets against the city. The frequent attacks were quite annoying, and the authorities decided to launch a Scud. The missile did not hit the village, but the village elders came to Najibullah and asked him not to fire such deafening missiles again. In exchange, they promised not to fire rockets on Kabul and to prevent other groups from firing.

However, back to the security of the Soviet Union's southern borders, which Najibullah promised to the Soviet people. How could it have happened that another Afghan jet violated Soviet airspace unnoticed by the air defence, the more unbelievable since the area is supposed to be under specially rigid control? Was the intruder plane a criminal error on the part of the Soviet air defence?

Two years ago a pilotless Soviet MIG flew as far as Belgium and crashed there. When asked how could the GDR air defence have overlooked the stray plane, the Soviet military representatives gave a strange answer and disclosed a monstrous military secret: the plane was spotted in the GDR, but the air defence received from it the friendly FOF signal used by Soviet MIGs then deployed in East Germany. No

East German MIG was in the air and Berlin ascribed the entire incident to a radar error. Why didn't the Soviet air defence pay any attention to the Afghan intruder? Was it also sending the Soviet friendly identification signal? This is only a supposition, though. However, I think the Soviet defence ministry owes an explanation. In the past, Soviet people needed to fear only the bombs of stray Kabul pilots. Now the situation is different. After the Khost victory, the rebels captured an airstrip and Soviet-made combat planes. It is highly unlikely that the mujahedin would fancy making a bomb raid against the Soviet Union, but the existence of continued Soviet arms supplies to Kabul can hardly make the mujahedin especially cordial towards the USSR.

Khost: mujahedin with a captured Soviet aeroplane

photo from Time magazine (USA)

The advocates of continued arms supplies point at the Islamic factor – the threat of Islamic unification for world dominance, an illness Soviet Muslims can also catch. This argument is frequently used by both the Kabul regime and the Soviet government. It seems that Moscow reserves this argument for domestic use as a means to scare the taxpayers.

But why is the Soviet government so concerned about the Soviet Muslims' possible joining in with the Jihad? Whence such overwhelming mistrust in dozens of millions of people? Few people in this country know that the Islam of Afghanistan is in many ways different from its Middle Eastern variant. When the Islamic factor is mentioned one would immidiately see in one's mind a multimillion demonstration carrying the portraits of this or that Great Leader. I can hardly imagine such a demonstration in Afghanistan with its tribal isolation, small house-hold and nearly natural economy, its traditional respect for the elders and authorities, where Islam means an age-old way of life of a tribe, of a family...From the point of view of our traditional attitudes, it is impossible to explain why several hundred mujahedin left for Saudi Arabia earlier this year to fight for Kuwait. As a result, the Soviet Union found itself in one and the same camp with the Afghan rebels. At the same time, some Soviet members of parliament who spoke in the Kremlin during the Persian Gulf crisis obviously sympathized with the opposing camp. Their calls for linking the Kuwaiti problem with the Palestinian one, their fears that the Soviet Muslims would not accept or understand any other policy were actually working against the anti-Saddam coalition. While MPs were debating the Iraqi issue in the Kremlin, *New Times* received a letter from a small village in Tajikistan. The author wrote that there were shared human values, the aggressor was to be punished, and there was no need to support Saddam by linking the problem of Kuwait with the Palestinian factor...

The war in Afghanistan and the Soviet involvement in it isolated this country from the Muslim world. This had adverse effect on the country as a whole and on the Soviet Muslim republics in particular. Central Asian republics are only starting to restore their relations with their neighbours. There is no need to obstruct this process by strange speculations on the Islamic factor.

The Islamic factor theory appeared when the Soviet side had run out of the last ideological explanations for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Both the Bible and the Koran call for humanism, but Soviet generals are not in the habit of studying the Koran. If they studied it, they would see that the difference between the psychologies, cultures, traditions and religions of peoples is not a justification for massive arms supplies.

One can trace the evolution of the Soviet government's explanations for the arms supplies to Afghanistan. First Moscow declined all proposals to halt arms supplies by referring to the fact that the United States continued to sell arms to the rebels. Later, the West suggested a "negative symmetry" solution – gradual and balanced reduction of Soviet and American arms supplies. The Soviet side responded with a devastating argument: the United States was supplying arms to rebels and this assistance was unlawful. The Soviet Union was selling arms to the legitimate government of Afghanistan. Official state arms trade is not prohibited by any international document and we could go on selling weapons to Kabul. The argument that there was a civil war in Afghanistan did not influence Moscow.

In May of this year, the US Congress decided to halt federal financial assistance to the mujahedin. The period of the United States officially helping the Afghan resistance is over. Washington agreed that the best way to settle the Afghan crisis was to let the Afghans settle it for themselves. It is easy to predict the answer from the Soviet side: the United States is far away from Afghanistan, and for us Afghanistan is a neighbour. The rebels get arms from Saudi Arabia and Iran, and we cannot abandon our friends who have been vastly harmed by our own decade-long military presence.

Much has changed in the past few years, after the Iraqi defeat in particular. It turned out that relations with Saudi Arabia and a normal civilized dialogue with Iran were not fantastic things. A month ago the UN Secretary General suggested a variant of the political settlement in Afghanistan – the possible dialogue mechanism. Three weeks ago, Angola proved that in any situation political means of settling conflict are much more effective than the use of force. A call has been recently sent from Afghanistan, urging that Afghans be left alone if the world community really wants peace there. The call came from the field commander Akhmad Shah Massud, one of the leaders of the armed opposition, not from the Kabul government.

The Soviet Union could step up humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan, it could start developing trade with Afghanistan, even with mujahedin. Instead, the USSR continues to pour arms into Kabul, thus eliminating many opportunities to secure its southern borders from unpleasant surprises. Perhaps the stray Afghan jet will help us understand this.

Irina Lagunina

Ion Iliescu:

"Views cannot change overnight"

On the first anniversary of **Ion ILIESCU'S** inauguration as President of Romania the opposition held strikes and demonstrations of protest against him. Nevertheless, the head of state remains optimistic. The process of democratization is irreversible. It is the leading idea of the interview he gave to *New Times* own correspondent Sergei Svirin

New Times. At one time you belonged to the top hierachy of the Communist Party and then were "degraded to the ranks." You took part in the revolution and the formation of the National Salvation Front. At present you are President of Romania. How are you overcoming the past? What are your political views today?

Ion Iliescu. Taking a different view of things is perhaps the most complex process for man. Views cannot change overnight. Those who say they changed their views in a trice are either insincere or simply opportunists. A change in the thinking, perception and actions of people depends on the complex process connected with changes in the socio-economic sphere. This applies to me, too. After an upsurge of activity in the political life of Romania in the 1960s, when the popularity of the regime and its leaders rose as a result of their negative attitude towards the invasion of Czechoslovakia, I witnessed, not always silently, the incipient process of the degradation of the regime. The official attitude towards me changed and I was debarred from politics. At first, I became an opponent of the Ceausescu regime and then of the absurd system as a whole.

You want to know about my political views today. It is not easy to give an exhaustive answer. I am against replacing one dogma with another. We must get rid of any dogma, any preconceived idea or scheme. In political thinking one should proceed from realities, working out a strategy that will meet the present demands of socio-economic development and keep up with technological progress placed at the service of the nation. The world of ideas is constantly changing. It is diverse and has many manifestations in various countries. As for me, I believe that I am close to the left trend in social democracy.

N.T. The events in Romania in December 1989 were accompanied by blood-shed. Did they lead to the democracy of which the Romanian people dreamed?

I.I. The present democracy in Romania cannot be reversed. It is painful to realize that human lives had to be paid for it. Unfortunately, the process of renewal within the old system was impossible. As the nation crept into a deep crisis, the repressive totalitarian regime made this process unreal. This made for the violent character of the popular explosion which overthrew the old structures of power. However, democratic institutions could not emerge overnight. December 1989 was the beginning of a difficult and complicated period marked by clashes and disturbances. It was only after elections on May 20, 1990 that the present democratic institutions were formed: the parliament, the presidency, a multi-party system, freedom of the press, trade unions, and religion.

In the economic sphere, we are changing to a market economy and restoring private ownership, in the countryside especially, but also in industry, services and trade. We have liberalized prices and wages and are reorganizing the banking and financial systems. There is solid ground for believing that, in spite of certain difficulties, the necessary conditions for democracy have matured in Romania.

N.T. What, in your view, are the prospects of democratic processes in Romania, and what role should the political opposition play in promoting these processes?

I.I. It can be said, comparing the present with the past, that we have made a real breakthrough. The adoption by the parliament of a new constitution and a new legislative and legal system and the carrying out of an economic reform will stimulate the process of democratization and rapprochement between Romania and countries with democratic traditions. I am convinced that there is a general desire for this process to be expedient and to be attended with a minimum of difficulties.

The parliamentary opposition has a major part to play in this respect. According to the definition of the word, the "opposition" means both the denial of and an alternative to what is negated, that is, a constructive position. I believe that a great many problems could be solved through dialogue. We began such a dialogue, but unfortunately I cannot say that it has been accepted by everyone. The opposition has taken an irreconcilable stand. Properly speaking, it is not so bad. However, in most cases the opposition usually limits itself to criticism. For instance, there are plans to form a government of national unity. But a section of the opposition refused to assume responsibility because in today's difficult situation, especially in the economic sphere, this would mean running the risk of losing popularity, should painful but necessary measures be implemented. The door for dialogue remains open, as does the interest in a constructive opposition.

N.T. You are a co-founder of the National Salvation Front. What do you think of its activity at the present stage?

I.I. It is my duty as president of the country to be a balancing factor, a mediator in political life. For that reason I am no longer a member of the National Salvation Front. However, I am following the evolution of the ruling party. The Front has been changing during the process of development of democratic life. At its recent national convention the NSF made an outline of its political choice and its ideology and adopted its charter. The reaction to these measures was different. Thus, there is a regrouping of forces depending on their attitude to the new guidelines.

It is a natural democratic process, and it will be quite natural if cooperation and dialogue begin to develop within its framework. I hope it will be so. After the NSF had won a majority of votes it took responsibility for governing the country in the difficult transition period. Some measures taken out of necessity have probably diminished the Front's popularity. But it is a risk I have already mentioned. The future policy, and especially its results, will decide the NSF's place in domestic politics.

N.T. Let us turn to foreign policy and to Romanian-Soviet relations, a sphere of particular interest to our readers. There was certain antipathy in the past because of Moscow's support of Ceausescu.

I.I. The relations between our countries have a long history. It should be said, however, that they have not always been sincere, because they have been guided by considerations of momentary advantage. In spite of a critical attitude on the part of various political forces, the majority of the population today realizes the need for cordial relations with our great eastern neighbour. I think, we should speak not about antipathy but about feelings engendered by the past and connected not only with the support given to Ceausescu.

N.T. Nevertheless, problems in our relations are evidently inevitable. For instance, Kishinev and Bucharest talk about the formation of a united state.

I.I. The talk about Moldova (former Moldavia) or more exactly, about Bessarabia and lately, about Bukovina has its roots in history. Future development will possibly open ways of solving the problem of these ancient Romanian territories. Romania and Moldova are linked not only by their common history, culture, and language; but albo by kinship – blood relations. That is why we favour close relations with Moldova in the cultural and economic spheres. As for borders, Romania has signed the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter and intends to observe them.

The fanning of passions over Moldova will not do any good for any of the parties. In politics actions are determined by reason and realism, not sentiments, though sentiments cannot be ignored.

N.T. In one of your first speeches as the NSF leader you spoke about the great prospects for Romanian-Soviet relations. Have you changed your opinion in connection with the political processes now taking place in the Soviet Union?

I.I. I reaffirmed this opinion during my visit to the Soviet Union in early April. The present changes in Romania and the USSR make it necessary to put the relations between our countries on a new basis. The treaty we signed in Moscow has laid conditions for this purpose. It proceeds from the changes effected in our countries and Europe as a whole and consolidates a new character of relations based on the full equality and observance of the mutual interests of both sides in accordance with the existing realities and the principles of international law recorded in the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris charter.

It took experts nearly a year to work out the draft of the treaty. Their joint work succeeded in establishing provisions acceptable to both sides. We should proceed from them both by expanding our ties and by solving possible problems. We hope for a favourable development of the situation in the USSR. Of course, the Soviet Union is now confronted with a whole range of extremely complex phenomena. It is difficult to advise from aside, and we are not going to do that. We know how difficult it is to find appropriate solutions in our country. We regard as useful for Romania any step towards democratization and the consolidation of liberties, any step towards overcoming the social and economic crisis in the Soviet Union and its constituent republics and resolving the existing conflicts.

N.T. In the near future preparations will begin for the next parliamentary elections in Romania. Are you going to run for President?

I.I. That depends on numerous factors. It is too early to give a definite answer.

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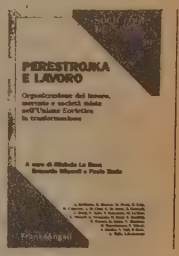

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Repetition of a scandal?

The Palestinian-Israeli meeting this month can be described as a futile squabble, not an exchange of views

The Helsinki "round table" looked like a usual press conference. Journalists were seated in the hall and Israeli and Palestinian representatives were seated on the dais. It was the International Encounter for European Journalists on the Question of Palestine. In the centre of a long table was Vasily Safronchuk, an envoy of the UN secretary general. On the left side were Palestinian representatives: Yasir Abdrabbo, a member of the PLO executive committee; and Mrs Hanan Ashrawi from the Palestine University Bir Zeit. On the right side were Israeli politicians: Haim Ramon, a Knesset member; Elazar Granot, chairman of the MAPAM, and others. On the side were Anatoly Filyov of the USSR and William Quandt of the United States.

It soon became clear that the journalists were present at a UN-sponsored small-scale repetition of an international conference on the Middle East. True, Israel was represented by members of the opposition, those who recognize the PLO. They had come to Helsinki at their own risk, as Israel has a law banning contacts with PLO representatives.

The "round table" gave a sort of insight into the future. It was interesting to know how an International Conference on the Middle East could look. I recalled the past, December 1973, when such a conference took place thanks to the efforts of Soviet diplomacy, the UN secretary general, and even the United States. It was eagerly anticipated as the only way to solve the Middle East problem, for it is impossible to fight forever. Arabs and Israelis met at one table then. Behind the Arabs was the Soviet Union and behind the Israelis – the United States. After a short clash and a stream of charges in both directions, the participants in the conference – filled with anger and indignation – went away. The campaign for a new peace conference began again. Unfortunately, it was conducted not with the intent to find mutual understanding, but rather with the intent to arouse further enmity between the Arabs and Israelis, backed by huge arms supplies.

The times have since changed. Though the American and Soviet representatives sat at the opposite ends of the table in Helsinki, their positions were identical and both actively supported each other in their statements over the heads of the adversaries. This is perhaps the most favourable impression of the forum. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about the discussion.

"Let us not square accounts, let us leave mutual charges aside," Haim Ramon said. "For if we begin to establish who is right and who is guilty we shall not come to an understanding. For instance, I can talk about the PLO for a long time – how much violence it has committed against Israeli civilians. Unfortunately, the PLO and other Arab countries do not want to have direct negotiations with us. They would like an international conference to become a trial of Israel. Attempts are being made to impose the final resolutions of an international conference on us before it has even been convened. The Palestinians seem to recognize Israel in words only. In fact, they have not yet crossed out the point of non-recognition of Israel from their charter. Moreover, after all of Arafat's speeches about the PLO's peaceful intentions, a group of terrorists headed by Abu Abbas went to some beaches near Tel Aviv to kill defenceless civilians there. It should be noted that Arafat did not condemn Abu Abbas for his actions."

"I agree that we should not square accounts here," Yasir Abdrabbo said in reply. If we begin to accuse each other and delve into the past we shall hardly achieve anything. The Israeli representative claimed here that we are against direct negotiations with his country. This suggestion is wide of the mark. We want such negotiations, but Israel is doing its damnedest to wreck them under any pretext. There is a whole list of UN resolutions which it has not yet fulfilled and has no intention of fulfilling. I think that Israel should be compelled to carry out the decisions of the world community."

"My colleague is quite right," Hanan Ashrawi added. "Mr Ramon does not even mention for some reason the lawless actions taken by Israel against Arabs in the occupied territories. The Israelis kill Arabs, deport them, and throw them into prison. These actions in the occupied territories can be described only as state-organized terrorism. The present leaders hip of Israel is obviously wrecking the peace process by declaring that it will not cede an inch to the Arabs and by continuing the illegal expansion in the occupied territories and settling its immigrants there."

It was in this way that both sides "left mutual recriminations aside."

Different views were expressed in the lobbies. Some journalists believed that a useful exchange of opinions took place. Others thought it was the usual wrangling between Israelis and Arabs in which neither side admitted its mistakes. I shared the latter view. We journalists, the audience, knew well that both sides bear the responsibility for the Palestinian problem and are to blame for the deadlock. Mr. Ramon could undoubtedly read out a long list of Arab crimes against Israeli citizens. But an Arab representative could also present an equally long list of Israeli crimes against Arabs. And each side would reply to all charges by repeating the well-known truism, "You started first." As a result, the debate would be reduced to stories from the Bible and a futile argument on which appeared first – the chicken or the egg.

It is difficult to have the truth accepted. Some time ago I mentioned that after the proclamation of Israel the Arabs undertook massive aggression against the new state and then had to pay for it. My Arab friends were indignant. "Who was to blame before that?" they asked rhetorically. In my opinion, "before that" is the Gordian knot no one has been able to cut. During the Iraqi aggression a Kuwaiti told me in a "friendly manner": "You are a good man, but why do you write your articles to Zionist dictation? Don't you have your own opinion?"

I have been reproached by not only Arabs. Another acquaintance of mine, a journalist specializing in Middle East affairs, assessed my attempts to get at the heart of the problem in this way:

"It's quite natural. We are a pluralist society. You defend the Zionists and I defend the Arabs." He put it in a nutshell: either or. And the question remains unanswered.

Yasir Abdrabbo was asked why the PLO continues to back Saddam Hussein and why it welcomed the aggression against Kuwait. In reply those present were urged to talk about the brutalities of the Israeli occupation troops. I could not contain myself

In the occupied territories – a dialogue with arms in hands

TASS photo

any longer and at a small reception in honor of the participants in the conference I went up to Yasir Abdrabbo and asked him point-blank: "Why, in spite of the crimes committed against your own people and the mass extermination of the Kurds after the Iraqi capitulation, do you still back Saddam Hussein?"

"And who told you that we back him?" Abdrabbo retorted. I also asked him about the Kurds, another question which has concerned me for a long time. World public attention is riveted on the Palestinian problem. It has always been at the forefront of Moscow's Middle East policy. At the same time, nothing has been said about the 24-million Kurdish people deprived of independence and statehood. This was done lest our dear friend Saddam Hussein should feel hurt. However, the Palestinians and the Kurds have a similar problem.

"Independence for the Kurds? A futile attempt," a Palestinian representative told me. "No one will grant independence to them."

When asked the same question, another Palestinian in Moscow expressed his opinion more definitely:

"We want the fraternal Kurdish people to live in peace and prosperity within a united Iraqi state. We are against the division of Iraq."

True, my question concerned a purely moral sphere. Nor could I get a clear answer to another question considered taboo, the question of Palestinian refugees.

According to the stereotype, which is not supposed to be disputed, the problem of Palestinian refugees has been created by the criminal policy of the Zionists. One may recall, however, that as a result of the Arab attack on Israel in 1948, Jordan captured the territory which a UN resolution assigned to Arab Palestine. It seized the west bank of the Jordan river and half of Jerusalem. Egypt captured the Gaza sector, also a part of the future Arab Palestine. During the course of the 1948 war it was not Israelis but Arab neighbours who occupied Palestine and divided it between them. Why didn't refugees return to their homeland, even if occupied by Arab brothers? I put this question to Hanna Seniora, the editor of the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Fajr* published in Jerusalem.

"The refugees tried to find shelter for themselves in Haifa and other places, but the Israeli authorities did not give them such an opportunity," he replied.

"Why didn't they return to the West Bank and Gaza, the territories controlled by Arabs?"

"Jordan and Egypt were also in a difficult situation. They could not provide accommodation and work for Palestinian refugees."

I did not understand in the end which occupation was worse for Palestinians, if one is to adopt an unbiassed stand.

Israel's present-day stand is clear to me, though I do not in the least favour it. Tel Aviv simply wants to own the territories which do not belong to it. Premier Itzhak Shamir alleges that the Israeli settlements have no bearing on the peace process. The basic principle of a Middle East settlement – "peace in exchange for territories" – is rejected. Israel has no intention of making territorial concessions to the Arabs. The PLO cannot be a partner at the negotiations. Premier Shamir refuses to accept the Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. One of those resolutions urges Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and to respect the sovereignty of its neighbours. The other resolution calls for an end to military activity in the region and a subsequent ceasefire. Itzhak Shamir favours the creation of more settlements in the occupied territories. He came out against the continuity of a peace conference, regarding it as a short-term measure for the parties to state their views and go away.

The occupation of foreign territories is amoral in its essence. The policy of continuing occupation can also be assessed accordingly. One more Israeli settlement was recently established in the Syrian-owned Golan Heights. In the West Bank the building of settlements has assumed a mass character. There is no justification for this policy.

Israelis are very skillful in the development of the desert. They can turn a desert into blossoming orchards. It is true that settlements are built in the desert Arab territories. But it is also true that the Negev desert, which occupies half the Israeli territory, remains intact. Why not build settlements there? Why provoke the Arabs to drastic action?

It is of course easy for an onlooker to criticize both sides while the situation remains tragic, and violence in the occupied territories is a daily occurrence.

What to do then? It is necessary to continue Arab-Israeli meetings. There is no other alternative. But if they are held in the same way as in Helsinki, they will become a mere waste of time and means, if not worse. I talked with many participants in the conference and expressed a rather fantastic idea for which I was invariably called an "idealist." Let it be so. Nevertheless, after the Helsinki squabble I saw no other way out but mutual repentance. If one more "repetition of a scandal" of this kind were held, I would advise both sides to draw up lists of mutual recriminations and hand them to each other, to exchange a sort of message. After that, each side would recognize its own mistakes and ask the other side for forgiveness. Before blaming someone else, let each side judge itself first of all, and renounce hatred and fanaticism. Forgive me for saying that, but only fools think that they are always right in everything.

Dmitry Zgersky

HELSINKI–MOSCOW

A mutiny in an Albanian labour camp

Lord Nicholas Bethell

Our arrival at Bardhor labour camp caused overexcitement and nearly a tragedy. It was the first time that the 318 prisoners had seen foreign visitors, maybe the first such visit to any Albanian prison. They crowded together in the central area, surrounded by barrack blocks, shouting the opposition slogan "Freedom and Democracy," pressing against the wire, each man anxious for the chance to tell his own very sad story.

It was a shabby version of a World War Two prisoner of war camp, complete with armed guards, arc lights and two wire fences separated by a "death strip." Any prisoner entering the strip may be shot without warning.

We tried to calm them down, but one man started climbing the wire fence in full view of everyone. (We were later told that he was mentally unstable.) A soldier pointed his rifle and made as if to shoot him, until Director of Prisons Edmond Caja intervened and organized the guards to grab him as he climbed down into the strip.

"You see how tolerant we are," said Mr. Caja. "In any other country a prisoner would have been shot for trying to escape like that." He seemed genuinely amazed when I told him that in western prisons the guards do not carry firearms.

It was an example of the confusion that Albania faces as its government tries to move away from the ferocity of inglorious isolation and to adopt the rest of Europe's gentler rules of behaviour. Amnesty International used to despair of the place. Its violations of human rights were so widespread, said one of their reports, that it was impossible to give any estimate of their extent.

There was simply no way of getting into the country and finding out how the government treated its citizens. Occasionally exhausted swimmers who made it across the strait to Corfu were virtually the only source of information. The news they gave was of a police state with numbers of political prisoners that made the Soviet Union seem, by comparison, a paradise of liberalism.

While the elections were on and foreigners allowed to roam the country, I met a former director of Albanian television, Edi Lubonja, who had served 17 years in prison for "revisionism" and his son Fatos, who had served 19 years for being Edi's son. There are many thousands of such cases.

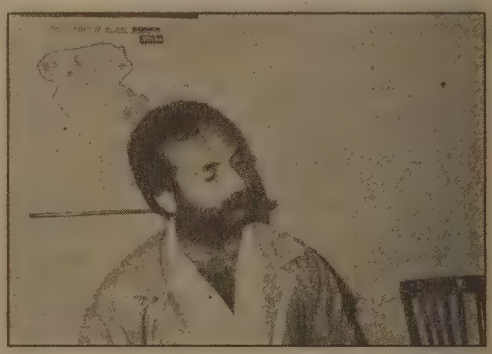
I was also one of the first foreigners to be allowed to visit Albanian police and labour camp facilities, to check the claim that all political prisoners have now been set free. Albania wants closer links with the Western world and money from the European Community. They claim to have cleaned up their human rights record. This was why they accepted our request for access.

Fatmir Manush, head of the opposition Democratic Party in Elbasan, told me that it was quite untrue that political prisoners no longer existed. Demonstrations on December 14th last year had, he said, been used by the secret police as a pretext to arrest ring leaders of political and religious protest. We were given four names of men who are still in gaol for political reasons.

Mithat Havari, according to local Democratic Party leaders, was present at the December 14th demonstrations, but he did no more than make an anti-communist speech. He was nevertheless identified as a leader, arrested, charged with vandalism and sentenced to 17 years. He had also, it was said, been seriously beaten up and was languishing in Elbasan's town gaol.

We went to the gaol and after some delay were received by the local chief of police, Vladimir Hysi. Could we talk to Mithat Havari? No, we were told. Under Albanian law he had to be kept "in isolation," since his case was under appeal. Could we then at least see him, to check what we had heard about his well being? No, said the chief of police.

In Bardhor camp the next day a prisoner who had been in the same cell with Havari a month ago told me that Havari had been "close to death" as a result of his treatment at the hands of the "Sigurimi," the secret police. "Havari is a fine man, a leader," said the prisoner, who was also serving a long sentence for taking part in the December events. He was covered in cuts and scabs – and obviously a frightened man.



Prisoner Edmond Pojani: "I called Enver Hoxha a dictator"

Another prisoner, Edmond Pojani, we contacted at the suggestion of his brother Demir, whom we met in Albania a few days after his release from serving 17 years for "anti-state agitation."

"I was arrested on July 29th last year and charged with offending the highest person of the system, under Article 108 of the penal code, for saying that Enver Hoxha was a dictator." He got two years. Other have

The Bardhor labour camp. Suddenly one man started climbing the wire fence in full view of everyone

been released, but he has no hopes. "My family has always been political. We have always been persecuted."

Xhafer Spahiu read me his indictment. He too was given seven months for "causing offence to high leaders" during the December events in Albania – and for causing damage valued at 5,430,000 leks, half a million dollars at the official rate and the total value of all the damage done in those days. He had committed no act of violence, he said. And he had been beaten up by ten policemen till he lost consciousness. He had been picked on only because he asked for the opening of a mosque.

Conditions in Bardhor are rudimentary and sentences long. A 15-year term for theft of a few pounds is quite common. While inside the wire, I was handed several letters of prison complaint and one complete prison diary, going back two years. In this one camp, we were told, 25 of the 318 internees were political.

Several prisoners told us about an uprising that took place in the camp soon after midnight on March 8. The prison diary, handed to me inside the wire, describes this event: "At around 1 a.m. I was awakened by the sound of shots. I jumped out of bed. My first thought was that the people of Kavaja and Durres were trying to set us free and that the guards were resisting them.

"Amid cries and shooting, partly undressed, I joined the rush towards the main gate of the barracks. There were further shouts: "They have killed our brothers," "Let's go for them!" and so on. And eventually the crowd succeeded in opening and unlocking the main gate. Tension was running high. All that was needed was for someone to take the first step. The rest would have followed and there would have been no going back.

"When the door was opened, there were hundreds of shots. The instinct for self-preservation made everyone duck for cover. People were climbing all over each other. People shouted, appealing to the soldiers not to shoot their brothers and to give us weapons to defend ourselves. Finally the crowd was forced to retreat.

"The shots then subsided and the crowd was halted in its tracks. I then learnt that four people had been wounded, one of them fatally. I went to the sick room to find out more. The name of the dead man was Mark Kola from Shkodra. A second man, Hil Kuka, had been seriously injured, but I did not see him, since he had been rushed to hospital. The third victim, Arben Dishani from Elbasan, had been wounded in the leg but refused hospitalization. I never found out the fourth man's name.

"Later some people gathered round the body of 24-year-old Mark Kola. Insults were exchanged with the guards, but finally people returned to their own barracks. Later we gathered in the courtyard and complained to the authorities. They wanted the dead man's body and asked us to let in an investigation panel.

"We refused and gave them until 5 p.m. to allow journalists from *Democratic Renaissance* and *The Republican* to come and report the incident. In the end we gave in the force majeure, but March 9 was declared a day of mourning throughout the camp. On March 11 the prisoners from Shkodra organized a memorial ceremony, in which all of us took part."

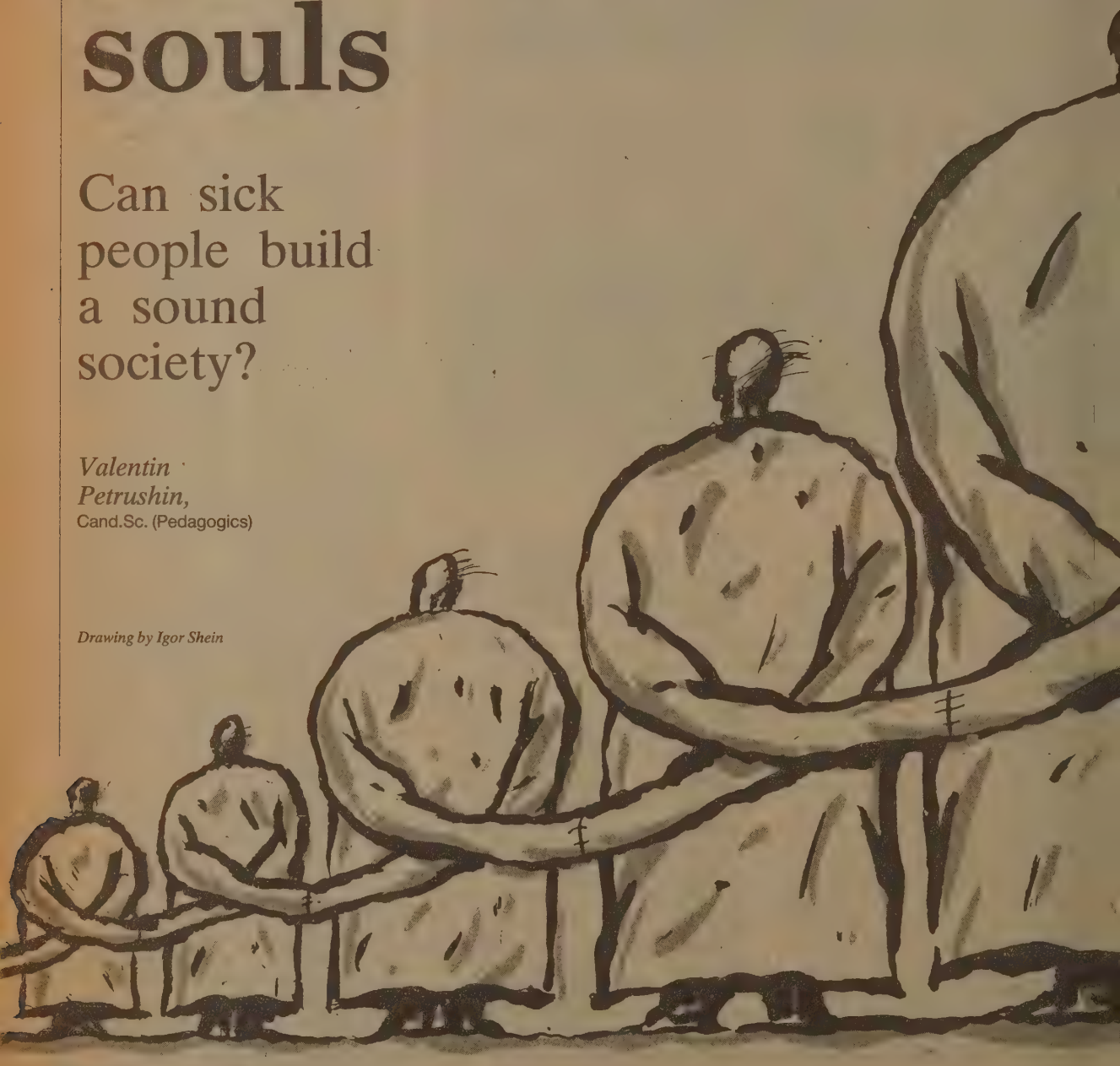
This incident illustrates how far the Albanian government still has to go, if it intends to achieve West European standards of human rights. It still imprisons political opponents for non-violent dissent, although not on the same scale as under Enver Hoxha. They still use live ammunition to control prisoners and to disperse crowds of demonstrators, as in Shkodra a few days ago. In short, the labour camp system they run is quite out of tune with modern standards.

AN ESSAY

Burnt-out souls

Can sick people build a sound society?

Valentin Petrushin,
Cand.Sc. (Pedagogics)



Drawing by Igor Shein

From the angle of social psychology, we Soviet people live in a system that induces neurosis, moreover not only in respect of the individual, but also at the level of state structures.

Generally, a neurosis is a state that befalls a person after a stress. Thus, he will begin to suffer tormenting pains and complain of debility in heart, stomach, head or liver; yet, physicians fail to discover any deviation from the normal. The colours of the environment fade; what gave joy before no longer moves. One loses the ability to work and to love. Foreign authors frequently employ the term of the burnt-out soul to describe neurosis. One suddenly realizes with horror that he is absolutely incapable of discharging his duties and obligations; as a result, he awaits the coming of each new day with fright. On a higher level, that of society, this neuroticism or neuroticization, if we may put it that way, is expressed in the growing consumption of hard liquor and drugs, in increased accidents on the job, in a shorter life expectancy, in a growing number of suicides, in aggressiveness against one's neighbours. Unfortunately, these phenomena are all too obvious in our lives. So the million-dollar question today is how are neurotic people to build a sound society that would be legally and ethically healthy. As I see it, before trying to cure a sick economy, it would be better for us to cure ourselves.

The master-slave symbiosis

At one time, during the "thaw" of the 1960s, Khrushchev let drop a notorious phrase, that only the mentally abnormal would be unhappy with life in Soviet society. At once the "royal" physicians, arming themselves with the club "sluggish schisophrenia" quickly hid all dissidents away in loony bins. However, history has demonstrated that what needs to be cured are not desperate dissidents, but the totalitarian regime, of which we, sad to say, are offspring, of which we suffer all ensuing consequences.

No doubt the reader knows how Soviet writers and journalists are "squeezing out" the slave mentality, some drop by drop, others pail by pail. Though rather metaphoric, this explains but little. After all, each social system is oriented on the reproduction within itself of people who would measure up to the necessary prescribed parameters. In a totalitarian system, this is the master-slave symbiosis. Yet it should be noted that even outwardly the slave mentality is expressed in much the same way as that of the **neurotic.**

What they first share in common is all the fears felt. The slave fears punishment, his master's whims, and is terribly afraid of losing his master's good graces. The neurotic's fears are more diverse. Thus, he may be unable to tolerate open, or, on the contrary, closed spaces, height, darkness, sharp or pointed objects, the number 13 or some other: he also might be afraid of catching some dread disease or of being unable to cope with the entrusted task. In Soviet society, the neuroticization of people born healthy was accomplished by fanning fear and repression, Party purges or the persecution of scientists, writers and musicians who disagreed with the "party's general line." In short, fear of the punitive arm of the faceless KGB or some quite specific boss who might punish or, on the contrary, distribute boons, is ingrained within us, as the germ of neurosis.

One of the most powerful urges of the neuroticized person is his craving to be supported by some powerful patron, who would obviate his fear of life, of the need to take important decisions, of isolation and loneliness. The nostalgic yearning for the "strong man," the burning desire that someone else introduces law and order into his home, his inability to tackle his own personal problems head on, to be fully responsible for his own life, is tantamount to infantile desire of the psychologically debilitated child, who seeks to hide behind his father's back in a moment of crisis. Look-

ing to the state for everything, for education, job, medical treatment and pension is self-same symptoms of a neuroticized, let alone slave, mentality. "When the boss comes, he'll tell us what to do" is the theme song whose tune is still heard in the heads of my darling compatriots.

The neurotic's need for love and approval, which derives from the lack of self-confidence, the feeling that he might not be doing the right thing, may assume diverse forms. This may range from the parents' demand that before going to bed the child necessarily gives them a kiss in gratitude for paternal blessings, to the invariably expressed adoration of rulers by the masses in music and dance twice a year. We observed that during the so-called chapter of stagnation, when the crowds marching in processes threw mental kisses to their rulers on the reviewing stands. Some revelled in the neuroticized need for loyalty, others had a neurotic urge for love and omnipotence. Yet despite these public "fits" of adoration, an insuperable wall always divided "loving" and "loved."

The love of the masses for their rulers in song and dance twice a year

Endless expectation

A neurotic lacks the energy to show what he actually thinks and how he should actually behave, which is why he is the 100 percent conformist as regards his loyalty to the acknowledged authority and traditions.

"What will Mrs Grundy say?" is ever present in the neurotic's mind. How we enthuse over the victories of our athletes, for when the Soviet team wins that means the Soviet citizen wins and, hence, is the stronger. This is an expression of the Aedipus complex, a term that Freud introduced, whereby the weak child appropriates the strength of a powerful father.

This same complex is observed in our social disciplines. Thus, inspired by the resolutions and decisions of the historic Party congresses, scholars were so fond of quoting Marx and Lenin, as well as the thoughts of the latest general secretary, that they themselves became comletely depersonalized. In officially published manuals and textbooks, the history of our sick society was penned by sick people who for various reasons were afraid to look the truth square on.

One salient feature of the neurotic is that he does not know how to take the current instant as life's supreme gift, and indeed, is unable to do so. He either indulges in nostalgic memories of a happy past, mostly childhood, or impatiently looks forward to impending events that will change his entire life style.

"When I grow up" or "when I finish school," or "when I enter college" or "when I get married," or "when I retire on pension," then I'll be happy, the neurotic thinks, failing to realize that the best years of his life are passing by. At the social level, this tendency is expressed in the ideological formula of the "bright future," for whose sake we were to work and undertake such sacrifices as bad housing, bad working conditions and restricted personal freedom of movement. As religion was officially banned, that "communist tomorrow" was the "kingdom of Heaven," for the sake of which it was worth suffering misfortune and privation. It was not life, but the expectation of what life might bring, not joy, but the expectation of joy, that induces one to overlook the unsightly reality, and simultaneously blinds one to the reasons and causes of his unhappy existence. No wonder the neurotic often has not the slightest inkling that he is sick. The same holds for the neuroticized state system.

In his craving for love and recognition, the neurotic behaves rather erratically when reciprocity is denied. Thus, a repudiated lover may grow aggressive to the point even of killing the one loved. Continuing this simile, the neuroticized state, noticing that one or another country seeks to throw off the shackles of "brotherly" love, may introduce tanks and armoured carriers there.

The neurotic is afraid to be himself. He does not know how to love himself, in the upshot he does not know how to love others. He is afraid of expressing his sentiments, which as a rule are contradictory and inconsistent. He craves to be with others, yet at the same time dislikes others. He wants to make love and be loved, yet at the same time he is afraid of assuming responsibility for his partner. Neurotics adore loving, but do not like to marry. The insolubility of such contradictions is the source of the many problems that face them; this is partly responsible for the great amount in this country of premarital sex, the many cases of divorce, the many children born out of wedlock.

Narcissistic state

Describing neurotics, Freud often employed the term of narcissist, implying the inclination some people have for self-adoration not shored up by any realistic achievement. Characteristic of the narcissist is his split personality with outwardly the idealized, spurious grand ego, which he draws upon to defend himself, but inwardly the same ego that is shallow, empty and inefficient. Shielding himself psychologically from the defeat and ill-success he is loth to acknowledge, the neurotic desperately craves the fullness of life, but what he actually gets is merely sham fullness. The reluctance to look the truth straight in the eye results in exaggeration of secondary ill success and depreciates failures. Recall fox in Aesop's fable

that called the grapes sour, when failing to reach them. During the stagnation period we ridiculed the consumer life style in the West opposing our spirituality to it. We proudly declared that our country was the world's readingmost, at a time when the world was already using computers everywhere. The undimmed triumphs of the Soviet ballet, space flights, figure skaters and hockey players, the metro's cleanliness and the free health services all limned Soviet society's stupendous neurotic ego. But concealed behind the front was the stark reality of 50th place in the standard of life, the 28th place according to UNESCO in cultural consumption and a place at the top of the table in child mortality rates. The blare of trumpets was summoned to mute the weak and the miserable.

In the case of the narcissist so in the narcissistic state every effort to secure social progress is expressed not so much in reality, as in the craving to obtain as soon as possible a clamorous achievement that would gratify the ambitious desire for the self-adoration and the self-approval of the powers that be. The construction of BAM, the Baikal-Amur Main Line railway, the turn-around of Siberian rivers and other inconceivable "projects of the century" were undertaken, not out of social need, but out of a neurotic craving for success tagged on to which was a "couldn't-care-less" attitude to what would come after.

The constant condition of being dissatisfied with the state of affairs, envy of the achievements of others engendered in the years of stagnation such a razzle-dazzle of sundry awards, titles and offices, which had the entire civilized world scratching its head in perplexion. All that, though, was merely a manifestation of the neurosis of totalitarian rule, with its craving to be liked and fancied.

Full bellies and empty heads

The psychologist considers ethical and legal infantilism another salient feature of the neurotic. In old times, Russian religion and the jury system generated a social environment enhancing the citizen's make-up. However, abolition of these institutions after the revolution and the replacement of the general human view of ethics and law by class interest neuroticized social life. Civic ideals were ousted by the belief in full bellies and empty heads as the tried and tested means, by which the masters could hold the slaves in check. No wonder under all totalitarian regimes food is relatively cheap, while the educational and cultural systems are defective. For if of a high level, that would boost self-awareness and imperil the very life-spring of the totalitarian system.

Lack of affection between mother and child subsequently becomes the child's stable denial of his own ego. In an adult state, this may result in the wholesale repudiation of the world of social relationships, that feeling of being one with others. As a rule, the neurotic totalitarian state turns a deaf ear to the pleas and demands of its citizens, acting only if they rebel. A state that does not love its people and a people who dislike their state system – such is the neurotic consequence of that social upheaval effected 73 years ago by a group of revolutionaries, whose psychological status has yet to be researched not only by writers, but more so by experts in psychiatry and social psychology.

But before this happens, I would term our uncompromising revolutionaries epithumetics. The psychologist describes this type as insationably power hungry and viciously intolerant of all in its way. Its perfidy and vengefulness may be camouflaged by accentuated courtesy, even a lushy sentimental flattery. The absence of true brilliance of mind is often hidden behind loquacity, a pompous air and the circumstantial retailing of things of little importance.

In a totalitarian state this type with his thirst for power, a pecking order and a craving to live within the frame of precisely defined rules and instructions, feels like a fish in water. In turn, the totalitarian system will not function well, unless supported by a sufficient number of this type of person.

It remains for the future historian to describe the role epithumetics have played in Russia's destinies. We find this type of mentality in Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, Lenin and Stalin. The craving of such statement to employ force in implementing political reform could of course be attenuated by erudition, as was the case with Lenin, but on the other hand, the years of violence and the expulsion of free-thinking intellectuals, who are nearly always in opposition to the government, could not but have a negative impact upon the nation's genetic assets.

When such persons govern, as a rule people whom psychologists describe as **psychoasthenics** suffer most. This type is always prepared to question everything in life, even the decisions the powers-that-be take.

In expectation of the joys of the communist tomorrow

In this group are the greatest number of rationally thinking intellectuals who desire to see and know how to see the world not only through official eyes, but through their own. In a totalitarian society this is why they are disgraced, imprisoned, deported or confined to concentration camps. However, an authority even of the fairest nature, that for long does not tolerate opposition, eventually degenerates into club law and ruins its country however rich it may have been in the first place.

The socio-ecological niche made vacant by the expulsion from the nation's genetic assets of people of the psychoasthentic type, implying people with their own minds, is filled by the hys-

teric, characteristic of whom is a heightened susceptibility, emotional instability, infantilism and credulity. They are easily governed and manipulated, for which reason they are adored equally by authority and hypnotist. Indeed, in a hypnotically induced trans, they easily rid themselves of self-invented illnesses and sincerely believe that a jar of water put by a TV set when an esper is performing will be charged with a health-giving curative energy. In exactly the same way they can easily be bamboozled into thinking that though they cannot afford normal food, clothing and housing, they are nevertheless living in the best of world, which the human race has ever sought.

Apart from all that, the hysteric deliriously lies and is deliriously happy with his own lies, as lies are essential to maintain his stupendous ego. Raised to the level of social awareness, this pathological craving to lie was manifested by our media in its colourful accounts of our beautiful life, one we really do not have. The American ethnographer Margaret Mead once facetiously commented, "What's the difference between an American and a Russian? The American will **pretend** to have a headache in order to get out of an unpleasant social obligation; the Russian **would** have to have the headache." It would be wrong, though, to think that this type is a priori genetically defective, while that type is naturally positive. Nature never has anything that is there for no reason. Each type has his merits and faults; what one type psychologically possesses cannot be compensated for by another type. The specific feature of a democratic society from the psychological angle is that there all natural genetic types can freely develop; as a result, each type contributes to the flourishing of another type, thereby enhancing the positive aspects and ironing out the negative aspects. But in an autocracy, the development of one set of psychological types proceeds at the expense of the suppression of other types. Hence the breakdown of any links in the chain adversely tells on all of society generally. We all know what happened to Central Asia's farming after total emphasis on cotton growing alone. The same holds for psychological genetics, only, of course, on a somewhat different plane.

Treatment

How can the social system be cured? How can we achieve happiness not to the buttery hypnotic logorrhea of party leaders, but in accordance with our own commonsense?

Back in the 1960s, Oliver Figueiredo's play *The Fox and the Grapes* was a great hit in Moscow. In one episode – this play is about the great ancient Greek fabulist Aesop – the spouse of Aesop's master offers herself to him. However, the slave proudly replies that he cannot take anything that does not belong to him. Today one would faln tell those in power not to appropriate, not to take what does not belong to them, that is the freedom of others. Give the farmer land in fact not on paper, give the factory workers their enterprises, and the scientist his right to manage his intellectual property as he thinks fit. Anyone who appropriates the freedom of others is willy-nilly enslaved by his own thirst for power; he involuntarily degenerates into a neurotic, fearing that he might lose the unlawfully appropriated. He will never be happy because his life is nourished by the freedom appropriated from others.

By fitting personal freedom to the Procrustean bed of ideological dicta, we robbed our social life of many striking manifestations, especially the self-expression of individuality. For long we thought that "the masses can achieve everything," however, the *Guinness Book of Records,* which so many admire and crave, appeared only in a society where a person's own achievements are highly assessed. The inborn desire to compete in braininess, agility, strength and the beauty of body and soul gives rise to the urge to achieve what no organizer of the socialist emulation movement could ever aspire to. However great the power of the masses, that social wealth and abundance we all dream of will emerge only as the materialized creativity of the free individual.

The fallen draught horse is relieved of its shafts. The sick person is relieved of the burden of daily chores. A society which has lost its way in the maze of its own contradictions must be relieved of ideological dicta and shackles.

At a ceremony held on the occasion of this event, the founders of the school declared that their aim was not only to serve the ideas of Judaism but also to take the first step towards building a new, non-racist South Africa. It is above all a matter of depolitizing education, lifting racial barriers and providing social conditions under which children of different races, religious beliefs, classes, and tribal affiliations can attend one and the same school. News of the opening of similar schools came also from Pretoria, Capetown, and Port Elizabeth.

Today the need for a new education system is recognized by many people. D.van Rensburg, rector of the higher technical school in Pretoria, noted that education would be an important issue in negotiations between the government and the African National Congress and other democratic movements in the country.

The hope for the early lifting of economic and cultural sanctions against South Africa is causing officials to think about the training of specialists in various fields. The rector spoke emphatically against the old conservative methods of teaching in which great emphasis was laid on traditions, not on new scientific ideas.

Incidentally, traditions in a school or university are not a trivial matter in South Africa. I witnessed this while visiting several educational institutions in Pretoria and Johannesburg. First of all, boys and girls study separately. In these small "monasteries" there exists the Catholic supposition that it is harmul for boys and girls to study together. Meeting on "neutral ground" take place only on days-off and holidays when joint sport contests and excursions are organized. Uniforms manufactured at the request of schools and colleges are an indispensable attribute for children and teachers. Each school has its own uniform. Even teachers wear cloaks on top of their civilian suits.

I visited a higher school for boys in Pretoria. In South Africa educational institutions are divided into state-run and privately-run. The school which I visited belongs to the second category. Its headmaster W. Schroder said that, like other schools, they have a uniform education system based on English experience. The aim is to bring up a harmoniously developed individual. However specialization is not forgotten.

Each pupil can choose four basic subjects, on which his attention and his teachers' attention will be focused. How-

Changes in the education system

A multi-racial Jewish school is opened in Johannesburg

ever, he also attends lessons offered by the school. Sports and games are also envisioned as part of the curricula. Among them are track and field athletics, tennis, swimming, rugby, skeet shooting, and basketball. There are splendid facilities for this purpose: a swimming pool, a rugby field measuring up to world standards, and an electronic control system for shooting. Those who think of a political career can attend a club in which they study the art of debating. Architecture and painting are also in the curricula. In short, all conditions exist for the education of a harmoniously developed person.

After my conversation with Mr. Schroder I went out to take a look at the grounds. Shorts, khaki shirts, shoes, and schoolbags are manufactured on the same pattern. Each boy has a prayer book and the hymn of the school in the pocket of his shirt. Praying is obligatory in the school. Religion is studied in all educational institutions.

The advocates of the traditional school allege that such a system of education helps maintain rather high moral standards in society. Drug abuse, prostitution and hard drinking became rare phenomena in large cities, even in ports.

Many families do not allow pre-marital relations and observe the purity of their genealogy. Mixed marriages are extremely rare. South African newspapers kicked up a row over the son of President Frederik de Klerk who had been dating Erika Adams, a young woman who did not belong to the white community. True, some allege that the family of the President, who has vast plans of dismantling apartheid, could show an example of mixed marriage. However, censuring notes prevail on the whole. In the meantime, the charming mulatto poses before the cameras of reporters while the President and his son have to give explanations. Such is, unfortunately, reality today.

I also visited Albens college, where the children of wealthy people study. The college has 24 hectares of land. Those who devote themselves to agriculture can have practical lessons on this plot of land, and those who choose to work in industry or science can acquire the necessary knowledge in computer classes or special workshops. The annual cost of tuition in the college is 5,820 rands. It should be said for comparison that the monthly salary of an ordinary bank employee is 750 to 800 rands. For those who do not live on the campus, the tuition cost is around 3,000 rands.

The situation is different in the schools of Soweto, a suburb of Johannesburg. A class consists of 30 to 40 pupils. There is a shortage of teachers, and their qualification often leaves much to be desired. The grounds need repairs, and there are not enough textbooks or sports equipment. Classes are usually held in the shade of a large tree. There are no toilets and places where pupils can have a snack. Since there is no water the teachers and children bring it in flasks. The city authorities are planning to build three schools. However, these plans are obviously way overdue.

Now that a common education system is being shaped the parents of black and coloured children have to pay from 2,000 to 4,000 rands a year for each boy or girl. However, they prefer to send their children to schools not in suburbs but in large cities, where previously only whites studied.

It is estimated that by the year 2000 about 90 percent of all pupils will be black children. They will bring different languages, cultures, and traditions to school. The authorities should, of course, make the necessary preparations. In the opinion of specialists, education will be an essential question during political discussions on the future non-racial system of South Africa.

During the welcome ceremony organized at the Johannesburg air port for ANC president Oliver Tambo, who returned home after a 30-year exile, I had brief interviews with young blacks, champions of the congress. I asked one and the same question: "What will be the main goal in your life after the abolition of the apartheid system?" Eight out of ten replied they would like to receive as education and a skilled job.

The results of this improvised poll reflect to a large extent the aspirations of young people in South Africa. This is especially important, because till now they lived in accordance with the slogan proclaimed many years ago, "Power and independence now, education after that."

Education is becoming a central task. Thousands of ANC supporters, returning home from exile, see that the country which they were forced to leave in the 1960s is changing significantly. Industry and transport are successfully developing and new technologies are being introduced. Culture is being developed, too. The ANC members understand that the present generation will have to make up for lost time.

Joint education has also been introduced at the Sacred Heart college in Johannesburg
TASS photo

Nikolai Reshetnyak
our own correspondent
PRETORIA

The view from The Beacon

"Sky City 1000" and "Mirror For Humanity." Is the idea bizarre enough to become practical?

A hurricane swept Tokyo long before the beginning of the typhoon season. Unlike natural hurricanes, that little hurricane of a man, a short burly bearded man of 50 with piercing eyes, did not destroy but sought to create.

Joseph Goldin, the author and coordinator of the project Mirror For Humanity (NT, No 15, 1991) descended on Tokyo on the day when Gorbachev's visit to Japan began. Naturally, everybody in the Japanese capital knew about the Soviet president, but few people knew anything about Joseph Goldin and his idea. Meanwhile, the two events were closely related. The Soviet futurologist together with a team of businessmen, experts, and journalists representing the newspaper *Golos* and *New Times,* came to Tokyo in order to give some real content to the vast capacities of the potential Soviet-Japanese cooperation. A representative of citizen diplomacy ignorant of so many conditionalities and political barriers, Goldin did not pay any attention to the pessimistic forecasts and evasive answers of career diplomats. Said Goldin: "Perestroika and glasnost – that's all I need in order to do real business."

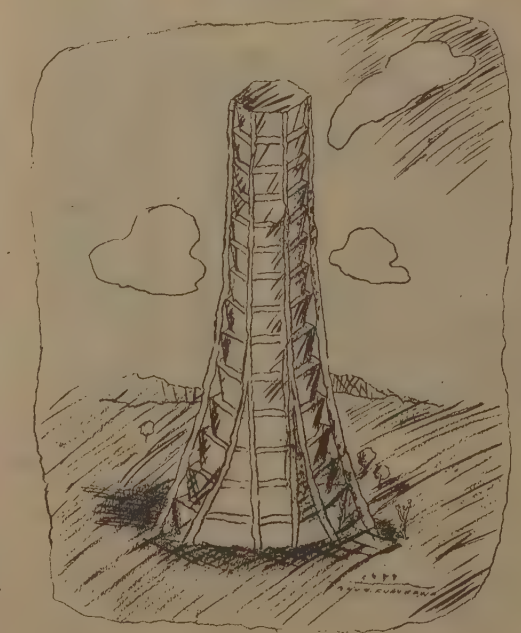
Traditionally, the Japanese never venture out towards new and unusual business without a lengthy and thorough study of the issue. However, the idea put forward by the Soviet futurologist was accepted by the Japanese immediately and in earnest.

At the beginning of May a seminar was held at the Foreign Press Club in Tokyo at which the Soviet enthusiast proved to experts of Takenaka one of Japan's largest construction firms, that their project of building a one kilometre high sky-scraper, Sky City 1000, was not simply another extravagant variant of solving urban problems but a realistic project of a new system of political and economic relations in the Asian and Pacific Region. While working out the project of the world's highest tower, Takenaka never looked that far. The mammoth 800 hectare complex was designed to provide comfortable accomodation for over 100,000 people, but from the Moscow visitor went farther than that. He suggested that Sky City 1000 be regarded as a beacon for humanity. According to the Sky City blueprint the sky-scraper would house living quarters, offices, shops, theatres and cinemas, gymnasiums schools, colleges, a garden and so much more. Let's convert Sky City, Goldin suggested, into the heart of political, scientific, economic and cultural activity of the whole region, the focal point of all creative energies, the centre of global communications. Sky City could serve as the key element of the system Goldin identifies as Mirror For Humanity. The merger of the two projects could greatly enhance their practical significance and value.

I saw that the Goldin suggestion was rather unexpected for architect Udzigawa, head of the Sky City project. Honestly, I expected Mr. Ujigawa and Takenaka's deputy director general of engineering, Mr. Kishima, to confine themselves to cautious and polite assessments and promises to return to the idea after a detailed study. However, I was mistaken. Takenaka accepted the idea without any hesitation. This does not mean, however, that the company is prepared to start introducing corrections to the project right away and implementing the Goldin ideas tomorrow. This would have been unrealistic and unbecoming for a respected construction company. But Takenaka saw Goldin's idea as a godsend that could add a new dimension to their project and make it more attractive.

It must be acknowledged that the world has already seen a lot of projects similar to that of Sky City 1000. There have been projects of floating islands, submarine trains, etc. However, no company seems to be in a rush to implement them. The Takenaka project also belongs to this category, I think. It had been designed as a huge promotion piece, showing the company's capabilities and creative potential, outlining the long-term prospects of the company's activity. However, what Goldin told the Japanese experts about their own brainchild made Sky City 1000 a realistic project that can be used to benefit the public. Very briefly, Takenaka supported the idea of merging Sky City 1000 and Mirror For Humanity into a single super project, Beacon-Mirror For Humanity.

Soon Goldin and Ujigawa will appear on Soviet television to talk about the new concept. However fantastic it may seem, I am sure that it can be implemented in a relatively short time.



Goldin's energy and the argument he provided have interested people to whom fantasy seems to be foreign – businessmen. It is only in business that one calls fantasy the vision of prospects. Anatoly Lykho, the vice president of the joint Soviet-Japanese shipping company Uniorient, which has over two decades of business experience in Japan and other countries, Anatoly Lykho, was immediately attracted by the key element of the Takenaka-Goldin project. "Let us put aside the idealism of Mirror For Humanity," Lykho told the participants in the seminar, "communication between people will begin and develop if the project acquires some real dimensions. Now I see two

concrete aspects of Sky City. First, an extremely strong incentive for creation and development of telecommunication networks in the Far East. Second, the boom in marine shipping that will be the result of the construction effort. Taking into account these two aspects, I cannot see any other site for Sky City but the Soviet city of Vladivostok."

One may call this suggestion fantastic. The Soviet Union as a whole, to say nothing of the city of Vladivostok, will never be able to raise $36 billion necessary for the construction of the sky-scraper. The idea is realistic, though, in the sense that the Sky City construction in Vladivostok will mean a combination of political, economic, industrial, cultural and other circumstances, conditions and demands at the right time in the right place and in the right proportion.

Building Sky City in Tokyo or Singapore does not make any sense. Potential clients will hardly be in a hurry to invest in having an office or an apartment in the world's highest building. In this case Takenaka will never raise the necessary funds or attract serious clients. What about Vladivostok then? Here is the opinion of Garrett Scalera, a US expert on complex global projects who worked for the Hudson Institute along with the world-famous Herman Kahn. Garret Scalera now heads a consulting firm in the United States and the Tokyo-based Institute of Political Studies.

Says Scalera: "Vladivostok is unique! It is the one city in the world today where a gigantic futuristic urban development project could be realized. If, for example, one of the visionary futuristic urban centres for which Japan is famous were to be announced as a serious possibility for say, Russky Island, it would electrify world attention and if realized would far more dramatically impact on global affairs than any other site. A bilateral commitment in principle to do this would, we believe, both compel the USSR to take the essential steps necessary to turn a closed, military port into an open commercial port and thus inspire the Japanese to seriously reconcile the practicality of developing Siberia's resourses

In our opinion, the obvious focus logically has been, ironically, the most overlooked, Vladivostok is the USSR's gateway to the Pacific. Unless it is developed and converted into a major, world scale commercial port most of Siberia's treasure chest of natural resources will remain untapped indefinitely. Essentially, what we are suggesting is that the focus be reversed, that the road to resource development begins with the port and that the only way to do this is through an enormously ambitious development plan which captures the world's imagination."

Naturally, the construction effort will be too hard for the Soviet side to undertake alone. But if the Soviet side displays a serious political attitude to the project, Japanese, American, South Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese, and West European firms and banks will be only too willing to invest in the project. Sky City 1000 in Vladivostok will give a powerful impetus to the economic development of the region and the formation of new international relations in the Asia and Pacific Region and in a broader context as well.

The Soviet side also has some resources to implement the Sky City project. Joseph Goldin's ideas are meeting with approval among representatives of the Soviet Union's powerful military-industrial complex which is seeking new spheres in which to apply its tremendous technological, industrial and manpower resources. To activate the MIC's dormant potential and to step up the conversion process, there is a need for a large-scale creative, even fantastic, civilian project. In this context, project Mirror for Humanity provides a unique opportunity.

Now Goldin is in Moscow actively promoting the presentation of the Soviet-Japanese idea. The presentation is expected to be held in Vladivostok in the middle of July concurrently with the London meeting of the Big Seven. Let us wait a little while and perhaps soon the TV bridge London–Vladivostok devoted to the laying of the symbolic first block of Sky City 1000, will become a bridge to new international relations of the 21st century.

Vladimir Ovsyannikov
Our own correspondent
TOKYO

EXPERT'S VIEW

It would be stupid to miss this opportunity

The Takenaka project is designed to combine the latest achievements in construction and communications. The one kilometre – high tower is to be completed in 10 to 15 years. It will serve as an international centre of business cooperation. The number of permanent residents in the tower is estimated as 35,000 and another 100,000 will come to work there every day. The top of the tower will house powerful communication equipment. The use of new steel and aluminium elements, elements of light porous and heavy-duty concrete, composite and carbonplastic materials, and light multilayer panels make this project technologically feasible. A confirmation of this feasibility is the planned construction of the World Trade Centre in Chicago — a tower as high as 740 metres The future system of communications of Sky City will require the employment of a network of satelite communication.

The world public, and the Soviet public too, are actively looking for a site for the future complex. One of the proposed locations is the Soviet city of Vladivostok, which seems a happy choice from the point of view of geostrategic rather than building considerations. The Soviet Far East can become a zone of active cooperation with the countries of the Asian and Pacific Region. The Soviet Far East possesses tremendous resources of diamonds, gold, silver, tin, boron, tungsten, iron ore, oil, and gas and accounts for 30 percent of the Soviet Union's hydro power and timber resources. There are also several ports that can function on a year-round basis.

Project Sky City 1000 is organic to the concept of development of the Far East, which requires priority development of business infrastructure and modernization of such spheres as construction and production of construction materials, transportation, and communication. As for the financing of Sky City 1000, **it will be largely undertaken by private capital, Soviet and foreign.** In this case the Soviet Union will allocate a site for construction, transport routes (railway stations, ports); power resources; scientific potential and skilled workforce; and vacant jobs. The Soviet side will also provide legal guarantees for international business activity, supply construction capacities and some materials. In addition, the Soviet Union will offer satellite communication channels, the cheapest and most powerful satellite launchers; state-of-the art means of video information exchange (HDTV, 3–D Television).

The anticipated contribution from the countries of the Asian and Pacific region (India, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, the Phillipinnes, Japan etc) are as follows: finance, technical and technological resources, some of the workforce, entrepreneurial organization of manufacturing and high-technology branches.

The implementation of Sky City 1000 could become a factor fundamentally changing the socio-economic situation in the region and it would be unwise to miss this opportunity.

Vladimir Simakov,
head of the department of science and technology policy-planning, Ministry of the Economy and Economic Forecasting of the USSR, professor, D.Sc.(Economics)

Georgy Mirsky
head of the department of programmes and priority directions of the Ministry of the Economy and Economic Forecasting of the USSR

The ubiquitous Dutchman

Andre Ceelen possesses an amazing ability to turn up in different parts of the Soviet Union, including those which are strictly off-limits to foreigners

The 46-year-old Andre Ceelen began his activity as half-missionary and half-defender of human rights in the Dutch organization East European Outreach. Since the mid-1970s he has been travelling to the "socialist camp" countries carrying religious literature to the believers. "At first there was always the question of spiritual help," he remembers, "but later on, as I actually met people and saw their problems, I tried to bring them clothes, food, and money." It was especially risky to bring in money: socialist justice threatened the envoys of the East European Outreach with stiff penalties.

However, according to Andre Ceelen, it is the recipients of aid who suffered most often. After a number of Christians in East European countries who had received Bibles from Amsterdam were put behind bars, East European Outreach had to set up a special department for the defence of such people. Later it became known as the East–West Care.

The Baratses case was one of the first cases that Andre Ceelen handled in the USSR. Galina Barats, professor at Moscow State University, and her husband Vasily, officer with the General Staff, converted to Christianity and joined a commune of Pentecostals. Consequently, they left the CPSU, lost their jobs, and began helping Soviet Pentecostals who wanted to emigrate: They wrote letters and met with foreign correspondents. Soon they were arrested and sentenced to 5 and 6 years of jail correspondingly.

Ceelen, who had been keeping an eye on the fate of the Baratses, wrote a letter requesting that the unlawful sentence be rescinded, and on the 1st of May took it to the Soviet Embassy in Amsterdam. He sincerely believed that on the Day of Labour Soviet diplomats would be at work and had specially planned his visit for that day, having heard that it was a special day for Soviets. But the diplomats were playing tennis on the Embassy court and no one took his appeal.

After that, Ceelen regularly visited the Soviet Embassy awaiting Moscow's response to the Christian appeal to show mercy. Diplomats, who preferred not to let the guests further than the Embassy hall, even began to invite him inside for a cup of coffee. But a year later, Andre asked an undiplomatic question: "What are good relations worth, if they yield no positive results?" He then began trying to obtain permission to go to Moscow himself.

In February 1987, Galina and Vasily Barats, whose destiny became known to the entire world, were set free, but for a long time they could not get permission to leave the country. Soon Andre met with them in Moscow, and in a few days got to know almost all the Soviet "refuseniks." He met many of them by chance at Iosif Begun's birthday party. That is how Andre became occupied with the problem of emigration from the USSR, and he has since shot a documentary film about Soviet "refuseniks."

For the most part patronizing the envoy of the Western Christian organization, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggested that his activity have a more versatile character – including assisstance to the residents of Armenia and Azerbaijan who suffered as a result of the interethnic clashes. Soon the East–West Care was forthcoming: the refugees have received medical supplies, food, and clothing.

Andre Ceelen: now to Chistopol?

In the process of delivering aid, Andre met the leaders of the Russian Red Cross. They had just returned from the tour of correction facilities and, appalled at the terrible conditions under which prisoners lived there, made their recommendations to the Interior Ministry of the republic. The Interior Ministry officials agreed with everything they had been told and called on the Red Cross to take part in the realization of its own proposals. The Red Cross forwarded this proposal to the Dutchman who received this new field for his activity. In exchange for his help, Andre asked for permission to see what the situation really was in Soviet prison camps.

The permission was granted right away: "Our Dutch friend can go to any place at any time." "Tomorrow!" said Andre, rejoicing. "To the prison camp in the Vladimir Region where Yuri Massover is doing his time."

Yuri Massover, a doctor at the Kaschenko psychiatric hospital, was sentenced in 1986. Supposedly, he accepted bribes in return for diagnoses of "diminished responsibility," thus helping those who were trying to escape criminal responsibility. In spite of the fact that only a small sum of money was involved, the investigation was carried out by the KGB. According to many jurists, the "Massover case" was needed to "whitewash" Soviet psychiatry which was criticized for the false diagnoses of dissidents. The case was to show that there had been some abuses, but that they were not the result of the existing system but were committed by separate unscrupulous characters, besides, the cases involved were not political, but criminal ones. Later on during his own trial, the main witness for the prosecution confessed that he had slandered Massover on orders from the KGB investigator.

Of course, Andre was not able to go to the camp "tomorrow," but during his following visit last January Andre, along with the Dutch Embassy stuffer, went to Vyazniki where Yuri Massover was doing his time.

"At 7 in the morning we left Vladimir, but at 11 a.m. we were stopped by the police post. They checked our papers and said that we did not have a stamp from the Vladimir Visa Office and that we must return. I refused, stating that I had received permission for the trip in Moscow, from the Interior Ministry. After two hours of unsuccessful negotiations we turned back and went in the direction of Vladimir. I was terribly upset, but ten minutes later we were overtaken by a police car with a siren and ordered to pull over. We were told that the decision had been changed and our papers would be stamped at our destination. We continued on our way to Vyazniki with a police escort!"

Soviet reality never ceases to amaze Ceelen.

Andre spent an hour with Yuri Massover and became convinced that it would be extremely difficult fot this man to survive his term of imprisonment because he did not consider himself guilty and deliberately opposed the prison administration. As a consequece he is being given terms in the punishment cell.

Andre was not mistaken in his appraisal. Although in spring the court reduced Massover's term by three years, it was soon followed by another trial – in the prison camp. So far Massover's family only knows that for his "opposition" to the administration Yuri has been ordered to prison and that shortly he will be taken to Chistopol prison.

It looks as though they are soon going to see the Dutchman down there.

Evgeny Lvov

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

In 1936, Sergei Andreyevich Kotlyarevsky, a former professor at Moscow University, wrote an article about the new Soviet Constitution. In the country's fundamental law, which had replaced the previous one, the prominent Soviet jurist, who always advocated the rule of law, discerned a promise of revival of the classical principles of parliamentarism, democratic legality, and guaranteed civil rights. True, he made his case for the new constitution in the language appropriate to those times, and even showed reverence for the makers of this constitution who had upheld an entirely different, "revolutionary" law shortly before that. Four months later, the Moscow professor was arrested, and then GULAG got him. The precise date, and the circumstances of his death remain unknown. (There is reason to believe that the scientist died, or was executed, in 1941 rather than in 1940). The Soviet state turned out to have no use for jurisprudence...

It would be no exaggeration to say that Kotlyarevsky was a paragon of Russian legal thought. He also ranked quite prominently as a journalist and as a political figure: the Constitutional Democrats elected him one of their leaders. Sergei Kotlyarevsky showed an interest in philosophy and was active in religious philosophical societies. At one time, he was the Vice-Procurator of the Synod. After the fall of the autocracy, Kotlyarevsky was appointed Deputy Minister of Religion in the Provisional Government.

After the October revolution, Kotlyarevsky suffered persecutions. He was arrested and convicted in 1920. Upon completing his term in prison, Kotlyarevsky was allowed to teach and even made a faculty member of the Moscow University. He didn't keep his teaching job for long, however, as he soon exchanged it for a position in the People's Commissariat of Justice which was then busy preparing a new fundamental law. Kotlyarevsky and his colleagues pinned some hopes on that law, but...

Today we follow up with excerpts from Kotlyarevsky's substantial article called "Normalization," originally included in the collection *From the Inside* (This book is now being prepared for publication by the USSR Academy of Sciences). This collection, which saw the light of day in 1918, featured essays by a number of Russian philosophers who tried to interpret the tragic events of 1917. At first glance, Kotlyarevsky's article is not altogether free of the "moralism" he himself was opposed to, and of "religious sermonizing," which is seemingly incompatible with a lawyer's rational way of thinking. Actually, these do not predominate, and neither does the appeal for enlightment. The article deals primarily with the need for the moral foundation of renaissance, for faith as a form of protection against the dehumanization of society.

Normalization

Sergei Kotlyarevsky (1873–1940)

Nowhere are questions of morality discussed as frequently as they are in Russia. Nowhere are people so accustomed to proceeding from categorical imperatives in approaching practical problems. The Russian intelligentsia was given to constant moralizing. However, this moralizing was more like a brain exercise. Far from hardening the will, it enfeebled it, causing chronic vacillations and doubts. For the Russian intellectual, the most difficult thing to do has always been making up his mind about anything, and he readily gives way to the moral bewilderments which arise inside him.

This contrasts sharply with the mentality and moral principles of the Puritans. The latter professed a moral rigor which set precise and clear-cut limits to the human will. Certain aspects of life were taboo. That made human existence duller and less eventful, but preserved the vital powers inherent in man... This moralism is saturated with will, it creates a choleric temperament. Assurance based on the awareness of supreme predestination, preached by St.Augustins and Calvin, breeds not the Oriental indifference of fatalism but confident knowledge of a certain place each man and his lifework have been allotted in this world.

All this is very much unlike our own intelligentsia's mental outlook. Russian literature is peopled with more "redundant individuals" than any other nation's. These individuals have no aim in life. Their moral doubts never end, they face infinite questions which they cannot find the answers to. The romantic mist with which Turgenev has surrounded them is gradually dispersing, revealing a crowd of Chekhov's neurasthenics. They draw you into a world of impotence and inertia which no one seems to be able to get out of. Like their numerous predecessors, Chekhov's "redundant individuals" felt that they had some potentialities. Just recall the hysterical complaints of the utterly confused *Uncle Vanya* about the great thinker in him who has never materialized. This sense of promise destined to remain unfulfilled is largely accurate because these people really deserve better. Nevertheless, their complaints sound dangerously like an attempt at self-justification.

The main thing is, however, that all these individuals are too deeply engrossed in their own egos. They are subjective to an extreme. Concerned with their own transient states, they are morbidly indifferent to the world around them. Their sense of the cosmos seems to be dulled, hence the shabbiness of their world... This is true even of Lavretsky, a healthy predecessor of Chekhov's feeble characters. All he saw in the natural world around him was the image of his own old age, of his own useless life burning down.

Some may object that the "redundant individuals" constitute just one aspect of the Russian intelligentsia created by temporary and transient circumstances. Their older generation was doomed, as was their society, membership in which was construed by them as a kind of social original sin. Consequently, they turned into repentant noblemen. Chekhov's characters are products of social stagnation. They appeared on the Russian scene after all that was full-blooded and heroic on it had collapsed, and trifles had come to hold an undivided sway. The movements of the 1860s with their nihilistic protest, the attempts made by "missionaries" to wake up and enlighten the common folk, and the Russian revolutionary movement have nothing to do with that. The heroic morality of the

revolutionaries with their complete self-forgetfulness, complete denial of private life, and complete subordination of that life to their objective cause – what does all that have to do with relaxed subjectivism?

Let us leave aside the genealogical disputes over who engendered whom and who descends from whom. The important thing is that these striking contrasts are not so deep after all. The repentant nobleman is the most genuine expression of intellectual subjectivism. The repentant nobleman created the populist world outlook which is distinguished, first and foremost, by the utter failure to perceive the social reality for what it really is; instead of that reality he created an absolutely fantastic situation where only two colours, pink and black, exist. He even thought up a subjective method of social studies which substitutes the cognition of the truth by the analysis of the individual's own moods. He created the political and social programme of Populism in which the questions pertaining to the state and social system are viewed as questions of social disposition, and whose answers are determined by this "morality of moods." It is only natural, therefore, that this repentant nobleman, whose beliefs were so ghostly and could hardly stand the tests of the outside world, gave way to the coreless neurasthenic.

The revolutionaries sought happiness and justice but all they gained for the people was equality in utter lawlessness

We can say this without fear of perverting historical justice. This justice must be done in full to those who wanted to give back to the people what their ancestors owed to it, to give this debt back without stopping short of any sacrifices. This especially applies not to the teachers, of course, but to their disciples who sought to put the teaching into practice. But the same justice requires that the failure of Populism, and all the fallacious and ruinous ideas it inculcated in the people, be fully exposed. Populism stood in the way of Russia's spiritual as well as material progress, because this progress calls, above all, for solicitous care and respect for culture. It presupposes qualities which could least of all be fostered by Populism. The latter preached egaliarian justice in its most elementary form – a justice which was inevitably to come down to bottom-line levelling. Hence, for instance, this programme of egalitarian land allotment which, if ever implemented, would lead to universal lawlessness, stark poverty and regression to earlier ages. However, the prerequisites of such a programme could be advocated by men like N.K.Mikhailovsky. It could also be adopted by whole political parties which, at any rate, exerted considerable influence on Russian life.

Where is the root of the lie here? It is, again, in the domination of subjective moralism. In itself, the distribution of land property is not a matter of morality. What is a matter of morality is that of ensuring a worthy existence for the human individual and of meeting the social demands involved. In this sense agrarian policy of any kind should always be a strictly technical matter. However, catering to the needs of the individual is by no means the only objective to be pursued by the state or society. They should seek, above all, to ensure the progress of the national economy in general which will pave the nation's way to the supreme forms of statehood, make it possible to create new cultural values, and so on. All this is not only necessary in order to exercise the right to a worthy existence, but is of an immediate ethical value. The well-being of the whole cannot be reduced to the well-being of even all its constituent units. This is the fallacy of the formula whereby the supreme good is the maximum good of the maximum number of persons. The good of the state presupposes the supreme reality of the state irrespective of its composition – and any true statesman is immediately aware of this reality. He does not break-down the state into an infinite multitude of citizens, both his contemporaries and those to come. However, the Populists too – despite their name and their readiness to sacrifice the most indisputable rights and interests of the individual – regarded the people only as a mass of individuals, specifically as a mass of Russian peasants living in a community and comprising the Russian world, as it were, with the addition of the intellectuals serving the people. Populism never rose to the idea of a nation, therefore it was never capable of fostering a healthy national feeling because it departed from the narrow outlook of individual psychology... Our Populists sought equality lest anyone feel hurt and wronged by his neighbour's prosperity. They preferred equality in lawlessness...

Hence the indifference (puzzling to us) of the people of the 1870s towards political freedom, or at least to the only possible form of its embodiment in Russia.

Most unfortunately for Russia, this world outlook was indeed in accordance with certain age-old notions deeply ingrained in the people's minds. The common people were also accustomed to levelling even if it meant the depreciation of the values thus shared. Such an equal sharing is, of course, the simplest, not to say primitive, form – but it received a certain legal recognition as fair. "We don't want any of us sleck, we'd rather all of us be rough," said Saratov peasants in 1905 by way of explaining why they revolted not only against the landed gentry, but against richer peasants as well... The current disastrous land situation is largely due to this kind of grass-roots egalitarianism.

Such a tradition is no justification for the Populist ideology, of course. Instead of suppressing these dark instincts, it encouraged them in every way and surrounded them with the aura of some ultimate truth. Its bearers turned a blind eye to the elementary feeling of envy which lurked behind this "sense of justice." They didn't see that their ideology created an atmosphere unfavourable for personal progress, for bringing out natural abilities, for general advance. Hopefully, the current developments will help many see the light...

Subjective moralism is one the elements of spiritual life essential for its full harmony. However, the Russian intelligentsia suffered from its hypertrophied development which made its spiritual life unbalanced. Today it is obvious to all that a radical revision of traditional world outlooks and a revolution in our traditional mentality are inevitable. Otherwise the words "Russia's national revival," now on everybody's lips, will remain mere words.

The preachers of this revival often suffer from their excessive faith in the impact of their calls. They often fall victim to moralizing rationalism themselves. What do mere words mean after the test of fire Russia was destined to undergo?... Those who have a keen sense of their own responsibility for what is being done and what isn't should refrain from attempts to remedy the situation; their mission is to show the ways of doing that – more precisely, to interpret this spontaneous curative process, which is already under way, in terms understandable to all...

We have always given in to psychology, considering it – no matter how abstract our views might be – the only real force.

References to "psychological necessity" have been regarded as a serious justification for even the obvious and pernicious political blunders like the Vyborg appeal. We have always tried to "capture the mood" by ascribing some unlimited powers to it. Now we know from previous experience, however, that success is often achieved by groups which feel no such "psychological qualms." This accounts for Stolypin's victory over the First Duma and the Bolsheviks' victory over the Provisional Government. As for us, we have often proved unprepared, i.e. failed to take objective opportunities into consideration...

These, however, are tactical mistakes from which societies and nations only learn the hard way... Such subjective psychologism easily turns into straight opportunism. When one's whole attention is focused on one's own and others' emotional experiences, and the latter are given the decisive significance, there is no room left for norms, commandments, or for principles existing in their own right, independently of emotional states. Hence our dangerous tendency to substitute genuine assessments of facts and actions, based on convincing evidence, by assertions of our own, or others' sympathies and antipathies for them. As we voice our sympathies or antipathies for an action, we presume our taste to be impeccable. Strangely, whether or not our sympathies and antipathies come from the way we really feel (psychological impressionism) or merely conform to the universally accepted attitudes (psychological routine), they give rise to fierce intolerance. This intolerance is, of course, unjustified as distinct from moral rigorism, because it is intolerance of the various means towards an end, rather than of the end as such. This is the greatest spiritual delusion common in the midst of the Russian intelligentsia, namely the confusion of the end and the means. The absolute and the relative change places. Or else the absolute is denied altogether and recognized only as quantitatively different from various relative forms in which it is embodied, and the relative becomes the absolute...

We often substitute genuine assessment of facts by assertions based on our sympathies and antipathies

The road to renaissance goes through the invisible tears of great repentance. This renaissance demands that one should shift the emphasis from himself to the world around him. One should seek to understand the ethical meaning of that world's elements which are above private life. I mean such elements as nationality, the state, culture, in spite of their seeming in appropriety to the state of our spirit coldness, and lack of emotion. The illusion that we are free of them generates tempting visions. However, if he loses touch with these objective and indispensable moral elements, an individual becomes sterile and shabby.

There are two basic types of moral philosophy. The adherents of one of them draw a sharp line of distinction between the actual world and an ideal world, making the man a slave to this antagonistic duality. The adherents of the other type of moral philosophy find the synthesis of the two worlds and assert the ontological basis of moral norms. It is only in this philosophy that the human spirit can find fulfilment. This is because a norm presented to us merely as a norm may belong to the world of ghosts, illusions, fixed ideas. Ascribed to the moral law, autonomy apparently elevates it but causes misgivings as to its obligatory nature. For all its rigor, for all its ruthlessness with regard to the strongest and deepest human emotions, the ethics of duty turns into the ethics of the collective, rather than the individual, mood. The moral despotism of Brandt (a Henrik Ibsen character. – **Ed.**) antagonizes people – but attracts them only if it conjures up the image of a church in the mountains which not only should, but can be built – i.e. an image which can be embodied. Morality as such has never been able to prove the reality of good, this can be done by religion only. For if religion reveals itself to us in the innermost recesses of our spirit, religious experience constitutes the very basis of an individual's life – it guarantees the individual's supreme objectivity, i.e. his independence from the moral experiences involved in religious experience. It is precisely religious consciousness that revolts against one's morbid preoccupation with private emotions – by calls for humility, it brings one deliverance from oppressive loneliness... In that case the dispassionate and puzzling commands of categorical imperative become a yoke which is a blessing, a burden which is light.

All the moral foundations of the Russian people have been shaken right before our very eyes, and if we are capable of understanding anything at all about our ordeal, we should realize that these foundations rested on a still deeper groundwork of popular faith. When the latter was destroyed and the monstrous cult of self-will and class hatred was implanted in its place, the way was paved for the coming holocaust. However, the people's instinct of spiritual self-preservation manifested itself here; despite all the pressure brought on them, and all the temptations, the people responded to the call of their temple's bell. So far we cannot gauge yet the force of the religious revival which has undoubtedly begun, and we do not know how strong the appeal of faith and the church is to the Russian intelligentsia's soul. But one thing is certain – the mood of moralizing subjectivism has proved untenable, and so will any attempt by the educated class to free its life from spiritual needs. These needs will cease to manifest themselves in sterile and agonized soul-searching when they are converted into religious quests...

This calls for the organization of a genuinely scientific school education capable of ruling out utilitarianism and helping people realize that even the usefulness of science comes from generosity unselfishness. The democratization of society will bring about an emphatic demand for the dissemination of knowledge... The world catastrophe we have gone through, which defies the providence of human reason and upsets its most presumptuous calculations, may cause deep skepticism. For us Russians this mood is more dangerous than for a nation with a steadier social psyche and stronger traditions. Without falling into any superstitious cults, science should under no circumstances lose the awareness of its objective importance despite all the psychological, social and tribal differences...

Today the Russian intelligentsia should seek to restore its undermined strength by drawing up on inexhaustible life-giving sources. And then, cured of its old intellectual perversions and spiritual ills, it will be both prepared for and capable of getting down to the creative restoration of Russia, now lying in ruins which bear evidence of the great sin it has committed and of the punishment already inflicted on it.

The Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the pilot congress of the Association of Jews – Former Inmates of Ghettos and Nazi Concentration Camps, **David Taubkin,** is one of the few living witnesses of the Holocaust, when 45 years ago 6 million Jews, one third of the world Jewry, were deliberately eliminated by Nazis in gas chambers, ghettos and concentration camps.

He was eight when Nazis captured him together with his mother and elder sister several days after the war began and locked them in the Minsk ghetto. Relatives saved David from pogroms twice. Eventually, David was smuggled to a Russian orphanage directed by a Soviet German, Vera Sparning. She also provided shelter for another two dozen Jewish children. Until the end of the occupation David had to live under the Russian name of Viktor Savitsky.

"The Soviet Union is the only country in the world that does not have the official satus of former inmates of ghettos and concentration camps," said David Taubkin. "The Soviet authorities refuse to recognize such people as victims of Nazi genocide. In any country, except the USSR, Jews who had suffered from genocide are getting compensation for moral and material damage paid by the government of Germany. This is stipulated by the 1957 Luxembourg accords. In the Soviet Union the few Jews who survived the Holocaust had to keep silent about their fate for four and a half decades. The names and the exact number of victims remain unknown, and no historical research is available. For the hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews who were born, lived, and died in this country, no place for a decent burial or remembrance was found."

Meanwhile, the National Institute of Jad Washem in Israel has been studying the problem for a long time already, carefully examining the testimonies of witnesses. The Institute has already perpetuated the memory of two million people. However, many names remain unknown. The Taubkin Association is prepared to restore the memory of Soviet victims of the Holocaust. Contact number in Moscow: 942-46–36.

* * *

Cinema critics call the Iranian film director, **Sohrab Shahid Saless,** 47, the enfant terrible of modern cinema. Although most films directed by Saless have won international cinema awards, they are not going to become box-office hits, and their author is unlikely to become a star. Saless himself admits that he is never going to shoot "nice" films. In his films, Saless touches upon problems that are not currently popular: the role of money and capitalist oppression, the condition of women in society, and the loss of simple human feelings in capitalist society.

Saless is a taboo breaker and always out of the mainstream. His latest film *Roses for Africa,* which he directed at Channel Two of the German Television, contains repulsive episodes which are traditionally a taboo for screening: a drunk hoodlum trampling on the body of his pregnant wife. "We have been taught to brush teeth, to wear ties and watches," the film director comments, "but we turn into the children of Darwin any time when sparks start flying... I am not opposed to marriage and family, but I want to show that each Fata Morgana of happiness has an ugly side to it."

Saless dreamed of becoming a cameraman ever since his childhood. The training was rather expensive so he had to make money by working as a night watchman and a cleaner. He graduated from an acting school, studied foreign languages, and attended the Academy of Cinema Arts. In 1969 he made his first film, a documentary, on an order from the Iranian Ministry of Culture. Four years later he made his first feature film, *Ein eifaches Ergebnis* (An ordinary incident).

Saless considers himself a cosmopolitan to whom the notions of nationalism and patriotism are alien. He does a lot of travelling, because, as he explains, being in one and the same place for a long time "makes his soul stagnate and himself feel the breath of death." This, and perhaps the cancer from which Saless has suffered for many years, may be the reason that he now wants to make a film about death.

A different general

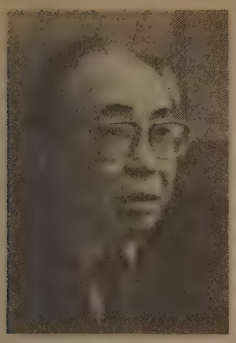
Major General **Yuri Kirshin,** 59, has retired from the position of the Deputy Commander of the Institute of Military History under the USSR Defence Ministry in order to set up an Independent Association for Military-Political and Military-Historical Studies. The general says he made this decision because he felt an urgent necessity to liberate himself from the pressure of the Defence Ministry which has been restricting the initiative of scholars for many years. "Now the only authority I report to is my scholarly conscience," said the general.

Kirshin's career in the military started forty five years ago at the Minsk Artillery Training School. At 33 he became an honours graduate of the Vladimir Lenin Military Political Academy. Yuri Kirshin is a professor and holds a doctor of philosophy. He worked as a senior lecturer at the General Staff Academy, the head of the strategy department of the Military Scientific Directorate of the General Staff, and the head editor of the Soviet Military Encyclopaedia.

The new association which unites prominent Soviet historians and political scientists will study the problems of security, military policies, strategy, history, and the forecasting of military-political situations in the world. It will also supply recommendations on how to prevent wars and armed conflicts in the Soviet Union and concrete regions of the world.

The general hopes that the association's activity will promote democratic elaboration of the Soviet Union's military policies, and make Soviet military policy-making more open and competent. He believes that the association's main task is to "provide morally pure products, independent of the political situation, old stereotypes, and ideological dogmas; and to promote new political thinking in the military sphere and to oppose the bureaucratic approach to the problems of military theory and history."

Yuri Kirshin counts on the assistance and support of democratic political scientists and historians, the parliament of Russia, and foreign scholars. The participation of foreign experts, the general says, will help remove "painful moments from our relations." "School and university textbooks all over the world must contain the honest, unbiased, and truthful history of Katyn, 'the Northern Territories,' Soviet-German relations before WW2, US Lend-Lease, and the war in Korea," says the general.



Liang Yufan, 69, President of the Shanhgai Institute for International Strategic Studies, has visited the Soviet Union on the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee in order to expand the citizen diplomacy contacts between the Soviet Union and China. Liang Yufan graduated from the Shanghai University department of engineering. After WWII many diplomatic and consular missions remained in Shanghai and there was a demand for people to work for the Foreign Ministry. Thus started Liang Yufan's diplomatic career.

In the 1950's he served in Shanghai, then he was appointed to Geneva and in the 1980's he served as the Deputy Ambassador of China to the United Nations.

He returned to China four years ago and had to end his diplomatic career – according to the rules of the Chinese Foreign Ministry all officers over 65 must retire. However, Liang Yufan decided it was too early for him to write memoirs, although his 40-year diplomatic experience provided him with much interesting material. In 1988 Liang Yufan, together with a group of scholars from the Shanghai Institute for International Studies, set up the Institute for International Strategic Studies – a non-government association of citizen diplomacy.

"During the recent visit to the USSR," Liang Yufan said, "we had a chance to see the deepness and complexity of the processes under way in your country. We are very familiar with economic problems in agriculture and industry, in the field of conversion, in particular. However, our countries are different as are our starting positions and specific conditions which predetermine the different paths to their solution. The main principle of the Chinese reform is adequacy and respect for a concrete situation. Our objective is improvement of socialism and creating incentives for the social and economic development of the country."

E.Kudelina

* * *

George Foreman, 42, lost a championship fight to his 28-year-old rival and returned to his duties of Evangelic pastor and director of a sports school for unmanageable teenagers in Texas. The former world champion among professionals and the Olympic champion who left boxing in 1977 after a bitter defeat, returned to the ring four years ago – mostly for financial reasons. His church, his school, and his large family needed money. The $12.5 million Foreman got for the lost fight is going to help mend the family budget for a while. However, the very return of George Foreman, as well as the attempts at returning to big-time sports made by Mark Spitz, Bjorn Borg and some other sports luminaries, poses an important question: Do veterans still have a chance?

There are a number of instances when people of 50 years started jogging in earnest, and achieved results which would have won them gold medals in the days of their youth. Specialists from the US city of Concord insist that coordination is preserved 100 percent until the age of 50 and that the human organism reaches the peak of its strength after the age of 40 and the decline of strength is very slow after that. Those approaching 30 are the most enduring and after the peak, endurance is decreased by 1 percent a year.

Very briefly put, the has-beens still have the chance to get millions, which may provide compensation for the loss of coordination and endurance.

Christian conductors

It is an unusual and interesting event when a Soviet and an American choir perform together. But when both choirs are composed of Evangelic Christians, this becomes a unique event. The joint performance of the American choir Nordic of the Luther College and Soviet choir Logos was conducted by the American conductor **Weston Noble.**

Weston Noble has been working for the Luther College for 42 years already. 25 out of the 42 years he has worked as conductor of the college choir. He was the first American musician to receive the title of an Outstanding Teacher of Music and to become a member of honour of the American Association of Conductors.

The Luther College was founded in 1861 by Norwegian immigrants and the first concert choir appeared there 15 years later. Today Noble acts as the custodian of the century-old traditions of the college. In 1969 the choir was listed among the United States' three best choirs. Films were made with the choir's participation and it took part in festivals across the USA. However, listeners are attracted to the college students' choir not by the perfect performance alone. It is easy to see that for the students music is part of their lives.

In a month's time Weston Noble will become one of the eight European and American conductors taking part in the Bridges of Songs music festival in Tallinn, Estonia. Weston Noble first visited the Soviet Union three years ago. That was when he met his Soviet colleague, **Evgeny Goncharenko,** the conductor, founder, and director of the Moscow Evangelic Baptist choir Logos.

Goncharenko was born in the city of Frunze in the family of a preacher. At the age of eleven he started playing the violin and the organ. He studied at the Gnesiny School of Music. For 17 years he worked as precentor of the choir of the Moscow Church of Evangelic Christian Baptists. Since 1980 he has worked as head of the precentor department of the Biblical School, editor of music editions of the Union of Evangelic Christian Baptists of the USSR.

The idea to set up a choir that would perform outside the church confines first occurred to Evgeny eight years ago. The choir he founded first appeared before the audience at the Moscow Protestant Peace Conference. However, it was not until five years later that he managed to create a choir that started promoting religious musical culture on the secular stage. Evgeny's motto is "Serving people by music." Protestants believe that like God, music directly communicates with man.

The Second (and the last?) Premiere

Three or four years ago there were few foreign (let alone "capitalist") films around. Today good Soviet films have a hard time "elbowing" their way to cinemas

Victor Bozhovich

We live in the country where every good initiative is carried to an absurdity until it finally becomes counterproductive. Relieved, at long last, of the State Cinematography Committee's and the Party's ideological control, our film distribution system has put to the turbulent sea of commerce without aim or direction, jettisoning the products of Soviet film studios like unwanted ballast.

Money-making is our commercialist's chief, if not only, concern. It's no use lecturing him on morals or reproaching him for seeking to buy the pictures which he expects to return maximum profit. Those in the film-show business here are convinced that we Soviet cinema-goers prefer American movies – of any kind – to any others. Therefore, they buy tenth-rate American pictures wholesale (and cheap) and glut our film-and video-market with them. For every really excellent movie such as "Gone with the Wind" (even though fifty years old), there is an awful lot of trash. Whether all this worthless stuff brings in profit for too long is a different matter. But for as long as it is in demand, the cinemas will treat us to it and, I repeat, it's no use reproaching them for it.

Take it or leave it?

A civilized market ought to offer a large choice of pictures so that everyone can choose the ones to suit his taste and mood. Is that true of our film market? We are offered no choice, the motto of our film distribution system being: take it or leave it.

The Soviet film industry is now booming. Its output is growing steadily and has already topped 400 pictures a year. Even if most of them are beneath criticism, it is not ruled out that our own Godard or own Truffaut are lost in that torrent somewhere. In order to judge a film you've got to see it in the first place – but the whole trouble is that few of them, if any, reach the cinema screen. Seeing them becomes a problem even for film critics, to say nothing of the general public. We have now found ourselves in a situation where most Soviet films are out of the Soviet cinema-goers' reach.

In an attempt to rectify the situation, the Kinotsentr association of the USSR Union of Cinematographers has held a Soviet film festival called The Second Premiere. In the course of one week, we had the chance to see pictures which had either been "suppressed," or just flickered and disappeared like shooting stars. Let me give you just a sampling: *Chernov* by S.Yursky, *It* by S.Ovcharov, *A Quiet Cemetery* by the late A.Itygilov, *Boys* by R. and Yu.Grigoriev... Incidentally, the latter two pictures topped a poll conducted among cinema-goers. In the other halls of the Kinotsentr one could see *The Second Circle* by A.Sokurov, *A Change of Fate* by K.Muratova, *Name-Day* by S.Selyanov, *The Sphynx* by A.Dobrovolsky, and a number of other works whichusually fall into the "experimental" category. The *Invisible Films* cycle was composed of short-and middle-reel films practically never shown at home (but often winning prestigious prizes at international film festivals). At the same time, a retrospective show of films by Sergei Paradzhanov and Andrei Tarkovsky and of documentaries about them was on. It played to full houses, and "extra tickets" were fished for on the distant approaches to the cinema.

A still from K.Muratova's film *A Change of Fate*

Death as a reality

The film *Chernov* is about what can be described as the ordinary Soviet man's preperestroika "foreign trip syndrome." The double transcription of the main character's name (in Cyrillic and Latin letters) reflects both the structure of the film and the fact that the character lives in two dimensions, in two worlds – one real and the other imaginary. A research worker downtrodden by his superiors, he is driven to the verge of a nervous breakdown by the "competent authorities" who deny him permission to go on a business trip abroad, and then play a cat-and-mouse game with him. In his dreams, however, Chernov enjoys all the blessing of the Western *dolce vita*. The two story lines fancifully intertwine, and each comes to a tragical end.

The actor Andrei Smirnov, who played Chernov, received a prize at the Karlovy Vary international festival for the best performance as the leading role.

A case of split personality is also central to Kira Muratova's picture *A Change of Fate* (based on Somerset Maugham's story *The Letter)* which is about a woman who commits murder out of jealousy, thinks up attenuating circumstances and comes to believe her own version of what has happened. The retribution for the lie is vi-

sited on the woman's husband. The message of the film is that illusions are a fragile foundation on which to build one's happiness.

Where is the tenuous and weird line of division between life and death? This question pervades Sokurov's film *The Second Circle*. It is the story of a young man who comes to see his sick father after years of separation, only to find him dead. Sokurov ruthlessly puts us, along with the bereaved son, through the ordeal of arranging a funeral in this country. The matter, however, does not boil down to the technical problems involved. The impact of the film lies in that it conveys the shock of facing the immediate reality of death.

In the years when unforgettable "socialist realism" reigned supreme here, the subject of death was carefully avoided in our cinema. Movie characters died only in wars, and if they did so in peacetime, it was only by way of heroic self-sacrifice. To show death as an inevitable end to any existence was considered improper, uncivil even.

A Quiet Cemetery, based on a story by Sergei Kaledin, is another film about life and death which the director Alexander Itygilov had completed right before his own life came to an untimely end. At a first glance, this is an ordinary "shocker," but a closer look will reveal the lyrical poem in it (the very name of the picture is a quotation from Pushkin)... The harsh pictures of life are in strange contrast to the wistfully sad autumnal atmosphere of parting and forgiveness. The actor Vladimir Gostyukhin, who is extremely convincing as the grave digger Lyokha Vorobei, carries on the theme he has started in the film *Our Armoured Train* – that of the tragically deformed and dangerously warped national character.

The film *It* is a free and vivid interpretation of Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin's immortal satire *The History of a Town*. The director Sergei Ovcharov, a master of the grotesque, is in his element here. At the beginning he wittily parodies the baby-talk of the newly-born cinema, and at the end – the senile mumbling of the dying television. He say exactly what he wants to say. He draws us into the clownish merry-go-round of funny and spooky personages, the eternal attributes of our absurd life. Rolan Bykov's performance in this movie is too marvellous for words – you've got to see it...

I have merely touched upon some of the films entered in various programmes of the Second Premiere festival. I realize that they have not been to everyone's liking, that each of them is open to criticism. In the aggregate, however, they add up to an interesting and varied picture of artistic quests and discoveries. For all the shortcomings of our cinema, it is certainly making progress.

Will our cinema last till the year 2000?

The Second Premiere festival has shown that a certain (and not a small) proportion of our cinema-goers, if not all of them, wants to see Soviet films and needs them. But, as the director Yuri Ilyenko said as he introduced his film *Swan Lake. The Zone*, "We are, perhaps, the last directors to make Soviet films, and you are the last spectators to see them. Will the Soviet cinema last till the year 2000?"

In a situation where there are no protective mechanisms and where foreign films are being dumped on our screens, Soviet culture is in mortal danger. In all civilized countries, the function of protecting the domestic film market is discharged by the state. This does not involve any prohibitive measures – a reasonable fiscal policy will suffice. By a fair distribution of the tax burden, by exempting from taxes the cinemas which show Soviet films (even if part-time), we can achieve the desired results without infringing upon anyone's interests.

Does the state, as represented by the fiscal bodies and the still existing Goskino, realize its responsibility for the existence of the Soviet cinema? After all, the cinema is not only an industry and commerce, it is also a vital constituent part of our culture. Art and culture, in the full meaning of these notions, have never been, or will never be able to pay their way. This is a sphere that society must continuously pump material and spiritual resources into because advanced spiritual culture is an indispensable condition of any nation's survival. We have witnessed the fact that upon losing the spiritual stimuli of development, society stops caring even for its elementary vital requirement: people no longer sow grain, harvest crops, build homes and look after their children.

For years and decades, the state administrative systems treated cinematography like a milch-cow, squeezing all its income out of it and holding it on an ideological leash. Now that the cinema has severed this leash and refused to be milked into the state pail only, the powers-that-be seem to have lost all interest in it...

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Concerning the rope

Tatiana Ivanova

Those who love this country and this people should cure it of a serious illness – fear

I needed a rope. What do you mean "as bad as that"? I needed it for some prosaic domestic purpose. As to the other implication, I shall not elaborate on it, because this is neither a laughing matter nor something I can afford the luxury of, even if I contemplate it in earnest... The prosaic purpose I needed it for is hardly of much interest to you. I just needed a rope, and who cares what for.

A quick mental survey of all the Moscow general stores made me despair of ever buying a length of rope – I knew that none of them had rope in stock. The Tishinsky flea market was my only hope.

Reports from the Tishinsky flea market have appeared in all our newspapers recently. It is a market where poor sellers offer their wares to poor buyers. The choice of merchandize for sale is extremely varied: a cracked teacup, an old powder compact, a darned shirt, a threadbare doll, a crumpled pack of tea, a much-used cake of soap, you name it. Even empty bottles and beer cans find their buyers... Why should anybody want an empty beer can, I wonder? It looks nice, I agree, and some may buy a few to grace their apartment's interior. Our interiors vary, you know. Once I was in a room where an empty cake box was displayed prominently in what was a "china cabinet" of sorts.

I have been to the Tishinsky market – that "museum of the socialist way of life" – on many occasions. I have seen there, for instance, powder compacts of every conceivable shape and size produced by the state for its women over seventy years. There are no more than ten or twelve kinds, each made of some very strong material – probably tank or aircraft armour plating. The pictures on their lids show pavilions of the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements, the building of the State Planning Committee, the Lenin Mausoleum...

There are our Soviet cut-glass vases adorned with five-pointed stars, hammers and sickles. There is a large variety of figurines representing our leaders – I admired a cast-iron Field Marshal Budyonny astride a cast-iron steed... There are necklaces made of our dull beads; balls of our woolen yarn the colour of which is anybody's guess; our teaspoons with revolutionary motives on their handles. A Tishinka old-timer makes a living on fishing broken ball-points out of junk heaps, "cannibalizing" them into serviceable ones, and selling them at 20 kopecks apiece. A decrepit old woman sells bast shoes of her own making. Women students offer tape recordings of once fashionable rock hits; outmoded skirts; even sneakers which can well last another season. Along with hundreds of other "prospective buyers," I have walked past impressive displays of kittens, puppies, picture reproductions cut out of the *Ogonyok* magazine, old books and rusty nails... Well, I thought that with some luck I'd find a length of rope there.

I found the market deserted this time, with a young policeman leaning against an empty stall in the middle. The authorities had clamped down on that pocket of private enterprise...

I found the traders – hundreds of them, as usual – standing and squatting along a fence, in a gutter in back of a public toilet. The clients were also in their hundreds, as always.

One of Premier Pavlov's men said on the radio recently that everyone would be made free, by a special law now afoot, to sell anything at all. The government official had added that if you had some soap to sell, you could go ahead and sell it, and if you made your own jam, you could sell that, too. Upon hearing that, I told myself that another revolution is coming. For seventy odd years they have banned private trade and cracked down on those wretched old women – the radish hawkers. Are they going to lift the ban now? That will certainly make our life different from what it is now...

But the time for that "different life" isn't ripe yet, it seems. No revolution was carried out. You can sell your wares only on the sly, only in the gutter in back of a public toilet.

I never bought a length of rope on that day, and I came home furious and convinced that this government will never put up with any reforms and any real changes. For as long as some are not free to sell, and others have no chance to buy, there is no cause to worry about our socialist choice.

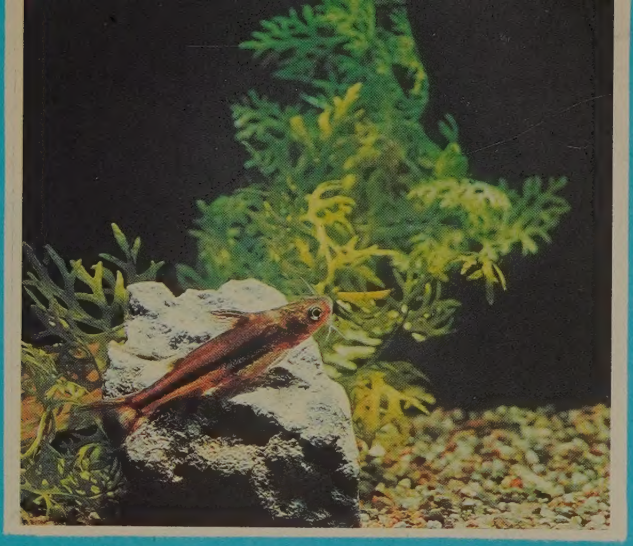
For the first time ever I was not sorry for my miserable fellow citizens. On the contrary, I thought, it serves you right, you paltry little creatures, just go on rotting in that gutter. There are hundreds, maybe thousands of you. Why don't you go to the market and lay out your merchandize on the counters? What will that boy of a policeman do to you? He will whistle like mad, he will shout "Close down shop!", he will even book some of you... Well, since you – and we – are so feeble, it serves you and us right. And long live the immortal and invincible idiocy of our life! We have no one but ourselves to blame.

Incidentally, that was an extraordinary day – it marked an anniversary of the events in Novocherkassk. Twenty-nine years ago on that day, citizens of Novocherkassks were fired on in the main square, in front of the local government building. Later, seven "ringleaders" were executed by a firing squad, and more than a hundred were sentenced to long terms in jail. Terror and arbitrary rule reigned supreme in Novocherkassk.

That happened quite recently. I was busy taking my University exams. It was when our first perestroika, the Khrushchev one, was smashed to smithereens.

After some thought, I saw how wrong I was to feel that way about the poor people of the Tishinsky market. Fear of the powers-that-be is deeply ingrained not only in their genes, but in their memory as well. This is new fear. If a policeman says "Disperse," you'd better comply. Otherwise they will shoot you down, crush you with tanks, put you behind bars, orphan your children and compel you to keep silent under pain of death. The people know that the state will not stop short of brutal violence. Therefore, they fear the state.

We have to be cured of fear. Those who really love this country and this people should cure it of a serious illness, fear. But first, of course, the cause of this illness must be removed.



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